

Childhood Education

OCTOBER 1941

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**Toward Better
Understanding of Children**

JOURNAL OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

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Childhood Education

*The Magazine for Teachers of Young Children
To Stimulate Thinking Rather Than Advocate Fixed Practice*

Volume 18

Number 2

CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER, 1941

	Page
A COMMON GROUND	R. H. Markham 50
WORKING TOGETHER	Harold Anderson 51
PROVIDING FOR CONTINUOUS GROWTH	Photographs 52
BACK OF ADOLESCENCE LIES EARLY CHILDHOOD	Margaret Mead 58
FIRST HORIZONS	John C. Montgomery and Helen Williams 62
THE FIVE TO EIGHTS AND HOW THEY GROW	Barbara Biber 67
THE MIDDLE YEARS—SOME GENERALIZATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS	Ernest Osborne 75
ADOLESCENCE—ITS STIMULATIONS AND PATTERNS	Peter Blos 79
FOUR GO WALKING	Katherine Reeves 83
WE ARE YOUR CLASS	Loretta Klee 84
ACROSS THE EDITOR'S DESK	85
BOOKS FOR TEACHERS	Clara Belle Baker 87
BOOKS FOR CHILDREN	May Hill Arbuthnot 89
AMONG THE MAGAZINES	Ruth Kennedy Caille 90
NEWS HERE AND THERE	Mary E. Leeper 91

FRANCES MAYFARTH, *Editor*

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Next Month

■ "Citizen Groups and the Schools," the theme for the November issue is introduced through editorials on "Children Are Socializing Agents" by Winifred Bain and "A Call to Action" by Harrison Sayre.

Paul Hanna describes present and potential relationships between citizen groups and the schools; O. H. Plenzke describes school public relations and how to improve them, and Carl Aretz discusses ways and means of coordinating community resources for the good of children and teachers.

Jean Currie presents "What We Think the Schools Should Do," the results of an extensive lay survey, and Doris Gates answers the question, "Must Our Children Be Sociologists?" A symposium describing cooperative community enterprises gives a sampling of what is actually being done to improve school-community relationships.

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A Common Ground

A GREATER number of people have found a greater degree of freedom and well-being in America than at any place or any time in history.

Nowhere else have men and women come so near making the dream of the ages come true. I have lived close to the people of many lands and have come to feel great attachment to them, as well as warm admiration for them because of their heroic strivings toward right and justice. In almost every country of the world, the workers, the farmers, and the young intellectuals have made great sacrifices to create a better world. But no large nation has moved so far toward that goal as ours.

This progress has been made in the face of great difficulties. In little more than a century almost forty million people have come to America. These people had no common tongue, no common faith, no common traditions. Many were illiterate in every language. Most were very poor. A majority was unaccustomed to democratic methods. They usually lived and worked under deplorable conditions. Most of them gathered in teeming cities and millions were crowded into dwellings that must have made the Statue of Liberty blush. No new group of immigrants has found life easy here, but each has written an epic story of heroic achievements and the new generations are as ardently American as Washington and Lincoln.

This "Americanization" is performed largely in the schools. Upon them falls the chief responsibility for making a nation out of separate individuals. Politics does not unify us; neither do religions, traditions, professional clubs or social organizations. Not even language, for there are many languages still spoken in America.

THE children themselves, through their work and play together, have done much to bring about unity, but the greatest unifying force is America's teachers. It is they who must inspire our young with a wholesome, dynamic, triumphant ideal. It is they who must arouse more faith and less skepticism, more devotion and less cynicism. It is they, too, who must help society plan for its youth so that they can have something in which to believe, something to which they belong and to which they can make their contribution.

Certain things in this America of ours are supremely true and deserve aggressive allegiance. One is that America has given common men and women a better life than has any other country. A second is that democracy is the only hope of free men. America has treasures that a hundred generations of men have striven for with blood and tears. We have the best that men have yet attained. Let us make this best available to all. Let us keep it, defend it, and make it better. Then our young friends will know how utterly vital democracy is. And we can hope that they in turn will become champions of freedom and doers of brotherly deeds.—R. H. Markham, Editorial Department, *The Christian Science Monitor*.

Working Together

EVERY teacher has seen a child who had a great deal of spontaneity in his behavior, but little consideration for others. In the immediate situation such a child often appears to get what he wants. In the long run he arouses such cumulating antagonism in his environment that it becomes no longer possible for him to continue this sort of spontaneity. Spontaneity without harmony is offensive.

It is different with a child who is both spontaneous and harmonious in his behavior. The harmony, the *working with* others, makes it possible for others themselves to be spontaneous. It has been shown in recent research that harmonious behavior in one person tends to make others harmonious in their behavior toward him. Thus is human behavior circular in its effects. Not only does lack of consideration for others produce in others lack of consideration for oneself, but harmony and cooperation in one tend to produce in others harmonious behavior toward oneself.

Harmony is a voluntary *working with* others—the expenditure of energy in common purposes. Just as there is no perfectly spontaneous behavior, there is never to be found a perfectly harmonious relationship. There could be perfect harmony only if two persons had a perfect understanding of each other. Thus it is that children, try as they may, are bound to cause some inconvenience from time to time. And thus it happens that teachers, try as they may, from time to time make life inconvenient for children. Understanding a child is like the mathematician's problem of infinity: one can always go farther and farther in a given direction, but one can never say that he has arrived.

A teacher can be harmonious with a child only within the limits of her understanding. If the child were deaf and dumb and blind and in addition paralyzed it would be difficult indeed for the teacher to behave harmoniously with him because it would be so difficult to get any expression of the child's own desires. It is axiomatic that a teacher understands a child only to the extent that she makes him spontaneous in her presence.

The teacher, who is supposed to be older and wiser than the child, has a special role to play in averting personality problems. The shy child, who is lacking in spontaneity, is afraid; he needs a friend; he needs special security before he can regain his spontaneity. Without spontaneity it is difficult for children as well as for teachers to understand him.

THE child who is spontaneous but lacking in harmony likewise needs a friend. He needs someone to help him understand what his behavior means to others, to make him more secure in his present environment, to interpret if not remove the source of his resistance.

Personality is a process of growth in which one is constantly discovering new meanings in the behavior of others, new objectives for his own behavior. The child is growing in proportion to the degree of spontaneity and of harmony in his behavior.—Harold Anderson, University of Illinois.

*Providing for
Continuous Growth.*



*... In Home-
making Interests*

Even the youngest, boys and girls alike, enjoy house-keeping activities. Cooperative home-making provides the best that we know for satisfactory living together.

—Photographs from U. S. Office of Education and National Youth Administration.



h.



*... In Interest in Books,
Places, and Events*

From early satisfactory experiences with books and reading come ever broadening concepts of what the world is like and what is happening in it.

—Photograph on left from NYA.
—Top photograph from Prospect Hill
Country Day School, Newark, N. J.



*... In Music-
making Abilities*

Bringing forth those hidden rhythms
Sum and substance of the soul
Making Everyman an artist
Tuned to self and cosmic whole

—Photographs from NYA.

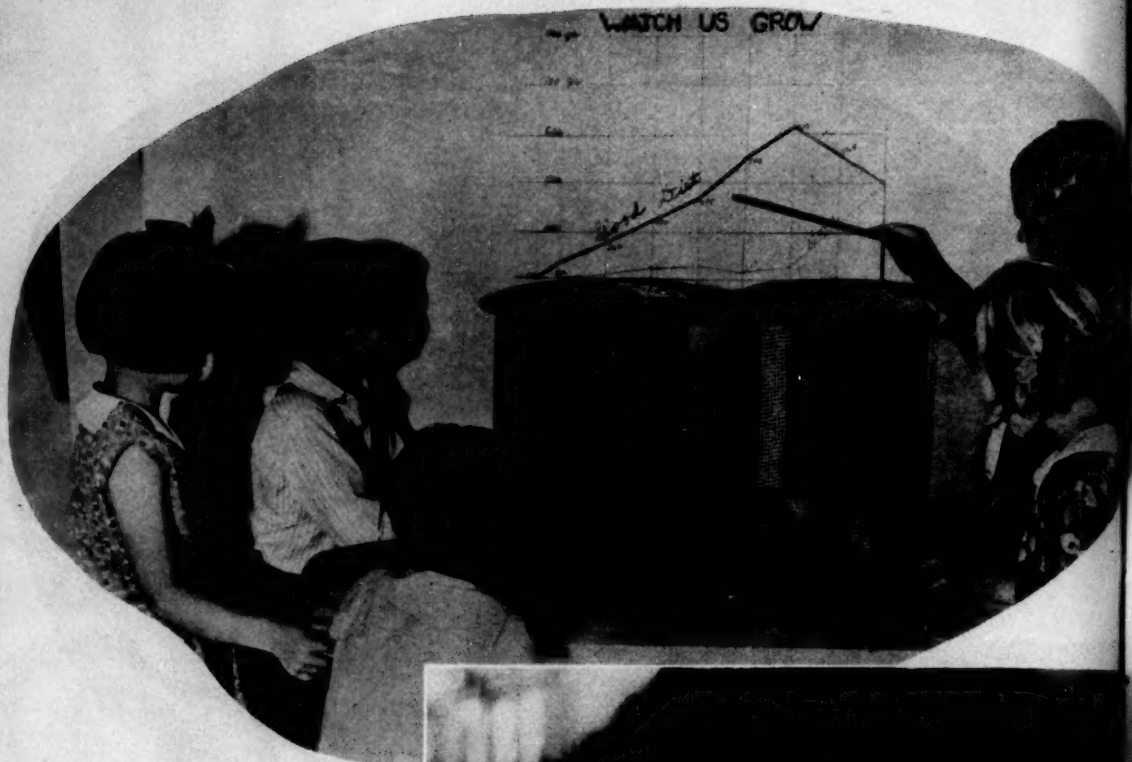




*... In Ability to Work
With One's Hands*

Chiseling, cutting, smoothing, round-
ing
Tools to guide and forms to mold
Lost in wide-eyed joy and wonder
What wealth of learning hands can
hold

—Photographs from U. S. Office of Edu-
cation.



*... In Knowledge
of Living Things*

Whether one is eight or eighteen
an early interest in and experience
with living things may lead to
socially needed and individually
satisfying vocations.

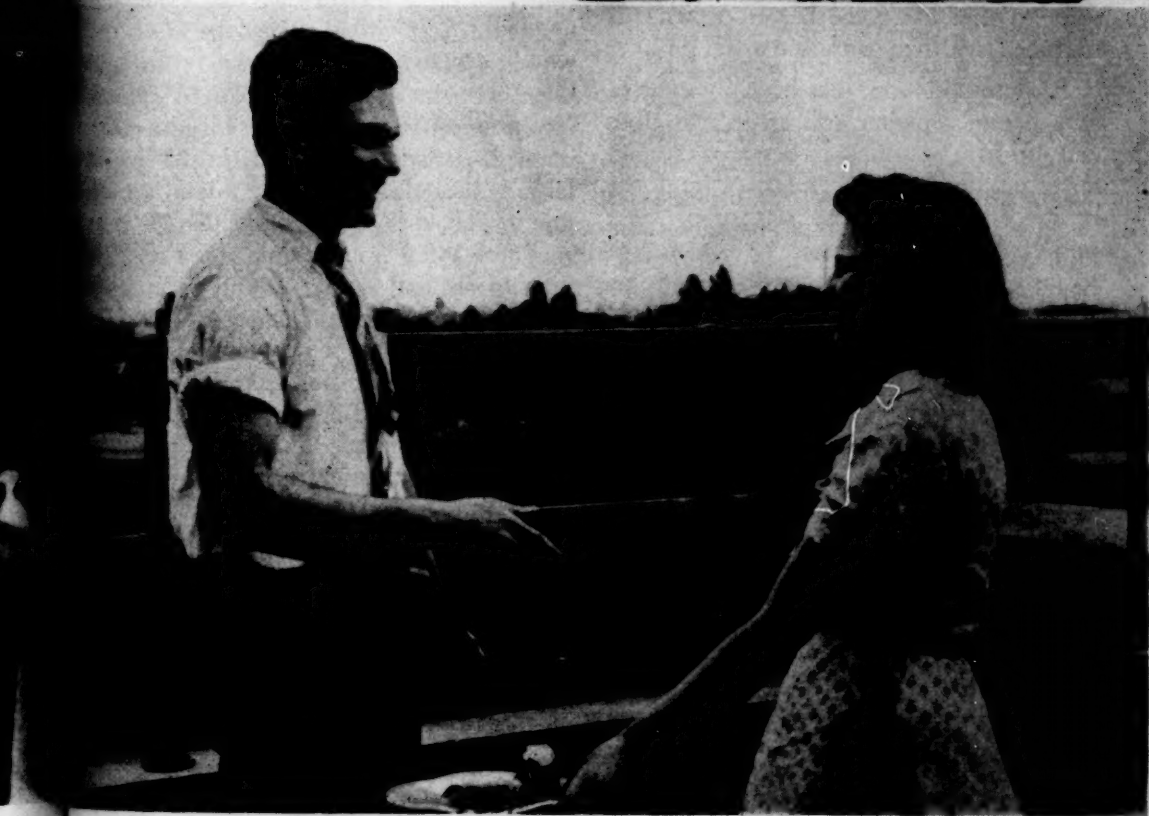
—Photographs from U. S. Office of
Education and NYA.



*... In Developing
Satisfactory Friend-
ships*

One of the most important growths of all—first within the family group, then with playmates and friends at school, and finally within the brotherhood of man where each gives of his greatest good to the common good of all.

—Top photograph from Marion Coleman, Berkeley, California.
—Lower photograph from NYA.



Back of Adolescence Lies Early Childhood

Margaret Mead, Assistant Curator of Ethnology, American Museum of Natural History, describes how adolescent behavior patterns are set in early childhood and grow out of the culture into which the child is born. Miss Mead uses as comparative illustrations the Balinese and Samoan adolescents.

WE ARE PEOPLE who think in terms of growth, of progress, of change. It is not surprising, therefore, that we should see children as always on their way out of one period into another. But when we separate one period and think of it out of relationship to what has come before or what is to come after, then confusion arises.

Because childhood has been thought of as a period separate and apart, the close and intimate relationship between the patterns set up in early childhood and the behavior at adolescence has often been missed. It is convenient to have a way of looking at the whole process of growing up which eliminates these breaks and discontinuities in thinking. We may say that infancy and early childhood are the time, at the beginning of the child's life, when he establishes his pattern of relationships with adults. Childhood (or latency) may be described as the period when the child realizes and is made to realize that he is not up to full relationships with adults and so must depend instead upon companions of his own age or status. Adolescence is the period when the processes of puberty provide new internal stimuli at the same

time that the response of members of the environment provide external stimuli to renew the interest in adults, according to the patterns established in early childhood.

As an adult, the individual lives out the pattern of inter-relationships given to him in his own childhood. All of these periods of life are so closely related that in a stable and unchanging society, if we knew one perfectly, we should be able to reconstruct the others; to say, for children treated this way between two and three by adults like these whom we see, adolescence must be such and such and no other way.

In primitive societies we find clear and easily traceable relationships between the way in which little children are reared and their behavior at later periods. In Samoa, for instance, babies are treated with easy, unparticularistic affection. Samoans live in large households; babies are taken care of, first by all the grown women and after they are a few months old, by the little girls of six and seven. Young parents do not live by themselves but with a group of older and younger relations. The child is given no sense of belonging to a small intimate biological family. Every adult exercises authority over him and takes responsibility for his safety and behavior.

Within this large household there are fixed emotional distances. Children do not approach the belongings of the Head of the household or talk loudly in his presence. They learn that all those of opposite sex somewhere near their own age, whom they call "brother" or "sister" as the case

may be, are to be treated distantly. No close brother-sister ties are formed upon which later husband-wife ties could be modelled. Without a pattern of close child-parent or close brother-sister ties, Samoan children grow up with easy, friendly, warmth and no idea that one human being is unique or that one lover cannot be substituted for another. Within such a pattern easy love affairs, marriages of convenience and easy but infrequent divorce all develop naturally. Adolescence is not a period when young people rediscover the violent feelings of early childhood, because early childhood provided them with no such feelings to rediscover.

Balinese Childhood and Adolescent Behavior

We may contrast such a simple uncomplicated early childhood as this with the Balinese childhood. Where Samoan babies are treated warmly and easily by the women of other households but are regarded as the least important members of society, Balinese babies are made much of by everyone—dressed up, carried about, feted and surrounded with ritual. No Balinese is so poor but that he can afford at least one chicken for his child's three month's birthday feast and another for the six month's feast. Children are regarded as being close to heaven from which they have recently come. As they grow older this heavenly glow wears off until as young married people the Balinese reach a high point of secularity. But the baby just learning to talk still retains enough of the supernatural world so that if he happens to utter some highly ambiguous phrase it may be treated as an oracle. Wherever the baby is carried there are arms eager to hold him. What was a duty for little Samoan girls is a pleasure and a privilege for most Balinese girls, and often for boys, too.

This highly valued baby is also con-

tinually stimulated, titilated and teased. A bath is not merely a bath but an occasion at which the mother plays upon the potential sensitivity of the child, developing a precocious eroticism. The routines of infant care—carried on with tender, uninvolved dispatch in Samoa—are lingered over, dramatized and embellished in Bali. If you pass a baby in someone's arms, you ask, "Where is your mother?" until the baby bursts into gratifying tears. Mothers are continually threatening to leave their children, or suggesting that the stranger has come to carry them away. If a mother wishes to deter her child from action, she mimics fear like a mother hen and the frightened child who has run to her in a panic is clasped to a histrionically beating heart. Other peoples' babies are borrowed to be caressed, suckled, flirted with to arouse one's own child's jealous response. And then—when the own child is at a pitch of excitement of love or jealousy—the mother breaks the thread, denies the climax, gives her attention to someone else and leaves the child all wrought up and no place to go.

Slowly this relationship between mother and child dwindles off; the child learns to respond less and less to the threats and incitements, to the cues that lead nowhere. The mother turns her attention to younger babies—her own or other peoples'—and tries less and less to arouse the child who is now growing old in premature knowledge that the only safety lies in impassivity, in never responding, in never rising to any lead. Small children, wearing no clothes except a flower in their forelocks or a set of silver bracelets, have learned to skirt the edges of seated groups of adults who might pluck at them as they pass. Solemn-eyed they sit in rows in the front of theatrical audiences watching the stage on which love and grief and aggression are displayed, but they themselves will

never show those emotions again. Overstimulated and unrewarded, they have withdrawn into themselves.

Against such an early childhood we can place Balinese adolescent behavior. The parents wish to marry them to their cousins, to keep them inside the family—that is the traditional proper marriage. But "inside the family" is an intolerable idea to the adolescent whose springing sexuality helps him to recall those early childhood days when his mother, strong, laughing, insouciant, sported without pity with his infant emotions. Every female inside the family group is assimilated to this image of the over-strong, invincible mother against whose teasing he battered his head in vain; whose answering love he was never able to arouse. If he marries he wants to marry a stranger, a beautiful remote creature, like the princesses who dance so gracefully on the stage which he has watched all his life. And on that stage a favorite plot is that of the young lover who hopes to marry the beautiful sister but by an error carries off the ugly sister instead—the ugly sister who is always dressed like the character of the mother. Every boy and girl of the least spirit tries to marry outside the family in a fleeting romance which dies almost as it is born, for once the new spouse is inside the family, the old habit, built up in those early years of self-defense, reasserts itself, and husband and wife live on together, unresponsive, uninvolved. "One guards the house; one goes to the temple. One sleeps in the village; one sleeps on the farm. If one goes to the feast, the other remains at home." The fear of straying which the mother's mimicry invoked stays with the Balinese and he conforms to the rules. Divorce is infrequent and difficult; marriage a formal state with as little emotional give-and-take as possible.

It is possible to multiply such examples (in which the later patterns of personal relationship which appear at adolescence and seem to the casual observer to have sprung full-grown from some god of the maturation process) and to trace them back in detail to the treatment which children received during early childhood from those older than themselves.

The American Way— Moral Autonomy vs. Authority

One aspect of American behavior may be taken as an illustration. During early childhood American mothers are preoccupied with enforcing moral decisions on their children. The mother, standing stern and unyielding while the child "finishes that vegetable", "washes his hands thoroughly", "picks up those blocks", is dramatizing the importance of the relationship between moral autonomy and authority. The child says, "I don't like spinach". The mother answers in effect, "You must eat it because I say so. It is good for you. It is my duty to make you eat it." And so she indicates to the child, "I think what is right and what is wrong is the most important thing in the world. I, having authority over you, will exercise it to see that you do right as I see it." So she teaches the child that moral autonomy depends upon strength. And she wins. The child eats the spinach with or without tears and with or without damage to his character, depending upon how much she loves him and how wise and gentle she is. He eats his spinach and dreams of the time when he, strong as his mother now is strong, won't eat spinach or won't make his little boy eat spinach. He has learned that strength gives one the right to choose among moral codes, and to follow one's own.

Against such an early childhood setting it is not surprising that adolescence is so often found to be a time of moral conflict.

for young people, a time when they repudiate their parents' concrete ideas of morality—that a certain hour of the night is the probable deadline between virtue and sin—but are still, oddly enough, preoccupied with the question of what is right and what is wrong. That old childhood set in which individual moral choice was still the choice of the person in power and not that of the helpless child is reactivated. The adolescent is tasting his strength. He has come to the time when he, aping his parents in the solemnity of his convictions, starts saying, "I don't believe its important to eat spinach."

This particular rebellion in which each generation of adolescents challenges and questions its parents is a concomitant of early childhood training. And just as the Balinese adolescents, who as adolescents rebelled against the idea of marrying their cousins, later, as parents, try to make their children marry *their* cousins, so our adolescents will in turn enforce moral standards on their children because their parents enforced them upon them.

But there is a difference because in a changing society and in a mixed culture such as ours where so many children are deserting the particular ways of their parents or are the children of those who have deserted parental ways, the *content* of the moral standard does change. "Mother said,

'You can never eat between meals,' and I always hated it and I let my children have a piece of bread and jelly when they ask for it." Changing customs permit each generation to indulge the childish desire to refuse the particular concrete requirements of the parents in a way that does not happen in static societies. But the basic pattern remains and children brought up by parents who take moral responsibility and enforce it by authority will, at adolescence, when their sense of approaching maturity makes them impatient of authority, question their parents' versions of right and wrong.

At whatever areas of life we look, the attitude towards authority, the capacity for easy or deep affection, responsiveness or lack of responsiveness, we find that the basic patterns are laid down in early childhood and that adolescence is a period when old attitudes are reactivated, not new born. An insecure early childhood, although apparently overlaid in late childhood, will reappear at adolescence. Thus the surest way to make changes in the behavior of adolescents, to ensure their being less contra-suggestible, less insecure, less confused than many of them are today is to introduce changes in the early years. For as the mother and father and teacher of little children set the stage, so later will the play be enacted, and not otherwise.

Growing Up in China . . .

STRICT as Chinese parents are, I have been unable to find a single record of one being charged with cruelty to children. The Chinese believe youth and old age should be the two happiest times of a man's life. And so, for the first four to six years, a Chinese child is petted by everyone. The Chinese believe that because this is a sad world with tears more plentiful than laughter, a child should start upon his journey through life smiling. Teach him in his earliest years that life is gay and ten to one, despite ill fortune, he'll go through manhood with unflinching courage and at the end again find peace and have memories of laughter.—From *Shake Hands With the Dragon*. By Carl Glick. (Whittlesey House).

First Horizons

Dr. Montgomery who is a pediatricist in Detroit and Mrs. Williams who is a teacher of young children analyze some of the changes in infant management which have become popular in recent years and describe their possible effects upon the future social and emotional development of the child. "Our interest is in tracing the development of primitive, instinctive reactions in infants to more complex emotions such as affection, usefulness, and cooperation," says Dr. Montgomery in a letter describing the intensive research he and Mrs. Williams have made on young children over a period of years.

THESE ARE REVOLUTIONARY times. Upon the shoulders of our children shall fall the responsibility of bringing some organization to the chaos which we seem determined to bequeath them. This is a disturbing thought to all of us. It is particularly disturbing to us. One of us is a pediatricist and the other a mother and a teacher of very young children. We have cooperated in the study and observation of the physical, mental and emotional development of many children from birth through adolescence. Experience with children has brought to us some alarming convictions.

We find that a great many very young children are uncertain, cowardly, lacking in initiative and perseverance, dependent and thoroughly unhappy. We find them fumbling for some understanding of their role in their family and in their own life. We find them lacking in usefulness either to themselves or to those around them.

Our cooperative effort began in a nursery day school. The children were from homes in which the parents had just the one child, or from homes in which both parents were employed, or from still other homes in which the child was presenting "problems" to the mother and father. The idea to keep the children "over night" came about in a very incidental way. One of the boys stayed with us day and night for a fortnight because of his brother's illness; a little girl whose mother was ill stayed for several weeks; still another child stayed while both parents went away on a family mission. These children who became members of our family showed marked improvements in problems that up to this point had remained almost static. The change was startling. We were delighted with the results, and arranged to keep some of our children on.

We decided to move out to the country, for in town we were easily accessible to parents which might mean frequent visits and telephone calls. So to the country we came, to an old farmhouse on a hilltop—a "small hill" the children explained.

The improvements continued and we knew that it wasn't just the country air. We took stock of ourselves and our day-by-day life here in our Hillside House. We believe that working and playing together is good. We all work here, for we have no servants. We raise vegetables, so we plant the seeds, cultivate the earth, care for the growing plants, harvest them, preserve some, and finally, in the autumn, we clean up the garden and again prepare the earth for winter.

We cook, bake bread, churn butter, wash windows, gather wood for the fireplace, take walks together, work with clay together, paint together, sing together, read together and alone. We do all these things and we have concluded that the children's way of living successfully and happily is perhaps not at all as complicated as once we thought, but instead that it is fairly simple. Nor is it a new formula, developed in this new era by the new emancipations or the new improvements and gadgets. No! We believe that it is the discovery or rediscovery of the old, old truths—the basic philosophy of the ways of being useful, the art of fellow-feeling.

It has been a thrilling adventure for us to watch these children and to see their efforts and usefulness develop. When Mary came to Hillside House for the first time, she was carried in the arms of two adoring parents, freshly dressed in her gay print, completely turned out by the skillful hand of her nurse. Mary was just past three. After her parents had bade her goodbye, she sat coily on the stair-steps, put up one foot and said, "Take off my galoshes now, please".

"Let me show you a good way to do it by yourself, Mary," was the reply.

Mary worked at this new job. It took nearly twenty minutes to remove the first galoshe, not quite that long for the second one. When her job was finally finished, she called very joyfully, "Look, I did it all by myself."

We showed her where to put them in the closet. She followed to the kitchen, and when she discovered that there was no hired cook and that she could have a job scrubbing the carrots and potatoes, she helped get a stool, found the brush and scrubbed energetically at the vegetables. She was helping; she was doing a job; she had a feeling of belonging; she felt that she was needed. When the dinner was

served it was Mary's voice proudly saying, "Look, I cleaned all those carrots."

When she went home for a visit later, it was she who informed the houseman who met her at the door and the nurse who came running to meet her, "Don't touch me. I can do it all by myself. I learned how."

John was six years old. He was one of a large family in less than moderate circumstances who had not been in the habit of doing anything for himself, and who had never used his hands except, as his father told us, to raise food to his mouth. It was John who grinned his broadest grin in praise of himself when he found out how to make his bed, to help churn the butter, to gather and pile the logs for the fireplace, to set the tables, to have a job, to be useful.

We have been able to draw a few conclusions from our experiences. We are convinced that a useful participation in their immediate environment promotes children's happiness. We have been impressed with the greater incidence of behavior problems in the children from the more luxurious homes. We have learned that a careful questioning always reveals some socially unacceptable behavior at two years of age or younger. We have been successful with severe problems, only when a complete change of environment has been possible. Clearly, our firsthand observations have confirmed those of many others that behavior is a reaction to environment. Our experience in the country has given us a broader concept of environment. Now we include, in our appraisal of a child's environment, opportunities for useful activity.

Changes in Management and Their Effects Upon Development

Our rural undertaking was occasionally spoken of as a retreat to the "Horse-and-Buggy Age". This led to the formulation

of a problem. What changes of fashion in child management have come about during our prosperous civilization which have been deleterious to development? On reflection the problem seemed even broader. Our national history contains many examples of outstanding personalities who have sprung from the most humble homes, and indeed without the aid of formal education. There has been an inclination to ascribe such success to some mysterious, presumably inherited, excellence of character. It appears to us more probable that an individual who begins life in a struggling family receives the benefit of a true educational experience. That luxury has an enervating effect on individuals has been recognized in our culture for years, as is attested by such ancient clichés as "shirt-sleeves to shirtsleeves in three generations." Contrariwise, the educational benefits of adversity seem to have been long recognized. ("Sweet are the uses of adversity which like the toad, ugly and venomous, wears yet a precious jewel in his head."—*As You Like It*.) Perhaps here lies the clue to the explanation of the decadence of which the "pluto-democracies" have been accused.

Our problem shaped itself somewhat as follows: What errors of education are commonly committed by a prosperous family during the earliest years of life? By a prosperous civilization? Do these errors lend themselves to analysis?

From birth on the human infant shows a distinct need for establishing contact with his fellow human beings. His behavior throughout the first year includes numerous attempts, by the trial and error method, to establish more frequent contact with the world about him. He uses many forms of behavior—crying, smiling, cooing, and not too infrequently, vomiting. Almost immediately an infant will reach out for his mother at the time of nursing.

This instinct to make contact with those about him is well known to all who are familiar with infants. Unquestionably many more complex emotions and emotional attitudes are developed upon this instinctive foundation, but clear thinking demands that we avoid bestowing upon it the name of a complex emotion. In the newborn infant it represents merely an instinctive "reaching out" process—an attempt to establish human relationship in a very primitive form. Quite obviously it will be modified by later experiences.

Unfortunately, there is available no word to describe accurately this instinct. The only word, indeed, which has been used has been "love". This we believe to be peculiarly unfortunate because of the sexual connotation of the word, and we are lead to wonder whether this fact may not in part explain the over-emphasis upon sex by many workers in the field of child psychology. Perhaps it would lead to clearer thinking if we called this the primitive "herd instinct", rather than the emotion of "love".

Let us attempt to follow the experiences of this primitive herd instinct. In doing so let us keep in mind the changes in custom which have taken place recently in the management of infants. We shall begin with breast feeding. It is only during the present century that it has been possible to feed an infant successfully with artificial formulae. Indeed, this was so difficult that in developing the technique of artificial infant feeding the pediatricist was at first well satisfied to have a live child. His interests were completely absorbed by the nutritional requirements of the infant, and by the many difficulties raised by infection. Little or no thought was given to the psychological or educational features of artificial feeding. The nutritional phase of the problem has been solved so thoroughly that today less than ten per cent of the

newborn infants leaving our hospitals are entirely breast fed, and only about ten per cent receive any breast milk after the first month of life. Breast feeding has so entirely gone out of fashion that the mother of one of our charges was recently heard to remark about an acquaintance, "You would not like her. She is very dull and so vulgar she even nurses her baby at the breast."

Has breast feeding any significance as an educational experience? We believe that it has. Breast milk is not a homogenous mixture. The infant does not obtain his full quota of fat unless he empties the breast. Fat has twice the caloric value of the other nutritional ingredients of breast milk, and satisfaction cannot be obtained without it. In some mysterious way the infant seems to know when he has obtained a sufficient number of calories. This is quite independent of volume. We have demonstrated this by diluting formulae so as to make them weaker and weaker, and with each dilution the infant will voluntarily take a greater volume if permitted to do so, apparently being limited only by the capacity of his stomach. The breast fed infant, therefore, is not satisfied until he has emptied the breast, and this is accomplished only through effort. The breast fed baby, therefore, many times in twenty-four hours undergoes an experience during which satisfaction follows effort. Moreover, he has taken part in a cooperative experience with his mother.

The loss of this educational opportunity, while perhaps not fatal in itself to normal development, is but the first of many opportunities which present themselves during infancy and early childhood, most or all of which are commonly lost today.

There are other important elements in the feeding experience. We were impressed by the fact that at about one month of age infants could roughly be divided into two

groups—that is, those who were attracted by strangers and those who were repelled by them. It seemed to be a sort of primitive emotional attitude of friendliness on the one hand or antagonism on the other. Since the infant's only interpersonal relationships occur at the time of feeding, it seemed likely that his experiences at these times determine his attitude towards others.

A consideration of the technique of artificial feeding reveals common practices which may well produce an antagonistic attitude in the infant. The mother approaches her task of administering an artificial feeding, beset by many influences. First, there is perhaps some feeling of guilt in that she is not nursing her child. Secondly, the young mother is overwhelmed by gratuitous advice from well-meaning relatives and friends who are all too likely to be critical of her best efforts and thirdly, God help us, the doctor. Here one of us, as a representative of his profession, figuratively showers himself with ashes and exclaims, "Mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa."

All too frequently physicians have been calory conscious. They have also been too prone to exhibit their own knowledge by calculating the expected needs of the infant to the last small calory and devising a formula which will precisely meet these expected requirements. This resolves itself into a regime whereby the infant is offered exactly so much formula to the fraction of an ounce at exactly certain intervals. Moreover, these orders are given so empirically that the young mother approaches the feeding with fear and trembling. She becomes overly scrupulous in her desire to see that her offspring obtains the very last drop. These scruples lead to forcing on the one hand, or to inadequate feeding on the other, as it is impossible to compute accurately the requirements of any infant at any one feeding. Forcing can only be ac-

complished by a restriction of the infant's movement and, as is well known, this is instinctively unpleasant. So a situation results whereby the infant's oft-repeated inter-personal experiences are accompanied by unpleasantness.

It seems to us reasonable to suppose that some association can arise in the infant's mind which will produce the elements of a primitive emotional attitude of antagonism towards either the food or the person administering it, or both. It seems to us that our primitive herd instinct may be thought of as having been first stimulated and then rewarded with unpleasantness or discomfort. We might, indeed, speak of it as the first common example of frustration.

As a result of these experiences, it was decided to feed infants in an entirely different manner than that commonly employed at the time. A formula was devised which would surely contain sufficient calories to last more than twenty-four hours. It was not divided into bottles but kept in bulk, and the parents were instructed to feed as little or as much as the infant would readily take. This formula contained the approximate caloric value per ounce as breast milk. While this was attempted six years ago with considerable fear, the results have been striking. There has been a much higher percentage of babies who are attracted by strangers than was ever noted in our experience previously. One unexpected result has been a great satisfaction—colic has vanished from our experience.

The Objectives of Personal Independence and Usefulness

We have pointed out two types of influences which are brought to bear on the primitive "herd instinct"—first, a satisfying

experience and second, frustration. Space denies us the opportunity to follow the adventures of this instinct further in its career. As it becomes equipped with neuromuscular coordination and later with more complex skills, the need of expression becomes more and more urgent. Objectives appear. Our studies seem to suggest that the first objectives are personal independence and usefulness to one's own herd. Indeed, this drive to be useful is so strong that we believe denial of it leads invariably to rebellion. That it is commonly denied can scarcely be refuted by any prosperous parent who will candidly and carefully inventory his own child's opportunities for usefulness. If still unconvinced, let him imagine the opportunities presented to the boy Lincoln, or any pioneer youth.

We have been led to redefine education as meaning expanding experiences in usefulness. Realization of usefulness gives to life a purpose and meaning, without which happiness is impossible. In conclusion, we feel that the most important instinct of the new-born infant compels him to reach out and make contact with those about him. We believe that other instinctive reactions to the discomfort or restriction of motion or sudden excessive sensory perception are important only as they affect the former. We have not observed any infantile behavior which does not lend itself to a reasonable understanding without resort to a sexual interpretation. We are convinced that the educational opportunities for the infant and young child have diminished with prosperity. We believe that the failure to recognize the significance of this rests largely with pediatricists and teachers, rather than with parents, and we should like to reemphasize the fact that education begins, not in school, but either at the breast or at the business end of a bottle.

The Five to Eights and How They Grow

Miss Biber who is research psychologist at 69 Bank Street, New York City, has chosen arbitrarily the years between five and eight as the general limits of a period of transition between early childhood and middle childhood. She discusses some of the outstanding trends of this period and shows how the particular social situation in which the children mature is reflected in the emerging values and goals of the children.

WE ARE WELL ACCUSTOMED these days to the idea that early childhood experience leaves lasting effects. The over-ambitious adult may have been the youngest of a family of seven who found it difficult to establish a real sense of his own worth and importance during childhood. The vindictive, moralizing adult may have been the child whose early mischievousness was nipped in the bud and who became a premature model of good deportment at the age of three.

We are even accustomed, nowadays, to the notion that the nature of early childhood experience may have far-reaching social significance. Presumably, if the natural hostilities of children's early years could be dealt with less punitively, if they could be controlled and channelled off without involving excessive feelings of guilt, we would have reason to look forward to generations of freer adults.

By this line of reasoning, a portion of the adult aggression and tension in our own times is the outcome of the burden of

deeply repressed hostility which our present adult generation represents. The study of adult personality leads one to give credence to this idea even though many people will be unwilling, justifiably, to accept such an oversimplified, single-track explanation of a world in strife. Actually, if we examine each successive period of child development in detail, we find equally challenging and arresting relations between the psychology of individual development and the social structure of which the individuals become a member. The years between five and eight, which can be taken arbitrarily as the general limits of a period of transition between early childhood and middle childhood, are an interesting area for this kind of study. What follows on these pages refers to a particular social group—children of lower middle class families, living in the city, attending a progressive school, whose needs and problems are a matter of more than ordinary interest and concern to their parents.¹ For these children, these transitional years represent active growth in many different areas but we shall concern ourselves here with only two aspects—first, the changing drift of dependence and independence and second, the changing relation to the world of objective reality.

The nursery years which precede this period of transition can be characterized as the period of the child's deepest dependence on adults. Yet, by the time the child

¹ Material in this paper is drawn from an extensive research study to be reported in a forthcoming book, *Children in School: A Study of a Seven-Year-Old Group*.

has lived through these years, he has accumulated, gradually, an impressive measure of independence which he gains on a dozen psychological fronts simultaneously. The utter physical helplessness of the infant is transformed into the physical adequacy of the five-year-old who can climb to the top rung of the jungle gym, run up the steps two at a time, carry a cupful of liquid without spilling it and pack a real wallop in self-defense. The baby who can only cry and whimper if the milk comes through the nipple too slowly has become the five-year-old who can clear a lunch plate of its lamb chop, potatoes and spinach speedily and efficiently despite the handicap of a fork and a spoon. The infant who could do nothing about feeling cold and wet until his mother remembered that the window was open too wide on a cold winter night has become the five-year-old who can manage the intricacies of a two-piece snowsuit with great dispatch if he especially wants to get out into the snow before it has been trampled. The baby whose mother had to interpret whether his one and only cry meant hunger or pain has become the five-year-old who can tell his nursery school teacher that he wants the next turn at the easel and that he will need red, blue and yellow paint for his picture. The baby who only occasionally deviated from his chronic compliance by turning his head away from the bottle or setting up a wail for a few minutes when put down to sleep has become the five-year-old who can and does express his resistance to adult authority by hitting, calling names, deliberately overturning his cup of milk, refusing to take his bath, disturbing the rest hour in nursery school and running away from his nurse on the street.

This array of accomplishments in the direction of growing independence represents a genuine psychological yield to the child in terms of feelings of gratifying

self-assertion, powerfulness, freedom from control. Yet in these years he cannot live by these alone. Happiness, or in another terminology, security, is not in proportion to the degree of independence. Instead, in these early years, the child's emotional equilibrium is much more clearly a function of the willingness of the adults in his life to care for him, to do for him, since these are the signs by which he reassures himself that they love him beyond question. His independence has come to him almost incidentally as a by-product of learning to talk, to walk, to control his eyes and his muscles. The degree to which he resists adults is a sort of testing of his individual prowess motivated by the ambivalence of his feeling toward these grown-ups who, in the child's reality, fluctuate between foreseeing and granting his deepest wishes on the one hand, and stopping him in the tracks of his own impulses, on the other.

In contrast, the two or three years which follow early childhood represent a period in which the child much more directly and actively establishes his independence of adults—their authority, their codes, their omnipotence. His resistance is likely to be expressed not only in the particular form of refusing to do what he is told, but in the more general form of accusing the adult of being too bossy or too strict or just not fair. He may take a special delight in repudiating the adult's code for overt behavior by using unacceptable language, coming to the table with hands unwashed, preferring his most tattered sweater to his newest one.

More significant than this tendency to stand off from the adult, evaluate him and criticize him is the trend during these years to replace an individual kind of rebelliousness with more socialized forms of protest. In the home situation there develops the special kind of communion of feeling that is implicit in the phrase, "us kids". A sit-

down strike by a group of seven-year-olds in protest against the length of the rest hour represents the kind of socialized resistance which will occur in a school situation where the natural trends of childhood are permitted freedom of expression. It is important to be aware of the weight of feeling which the child must have associated with this daring adventure of setting himself off, apart from the adults whose protection he still wants and needs and who have just recently been almost the symbols of all life for him. Life remains bearable to children during this period only because as they cast off the relation of dependence to adults on the one hand, they embrace an almost equally strong relation of dependence on the child group.

In the same school group in which the incident of the sitdown strike took place, it was possible to observe a variety of mechanisms by means of which the child group establishes itself as an important social organism. Other groups of children might find other particular mechanisms by means of which to establish a feeling of power and strength among the children themselves. In this group, the children used the technique of voting as a kind of primitive way of establishing their togetherness. It took a thousand forms—putting hands up, putting hands down, voting about whether ice cream was better than cake, which child in the group was most loved and most hated, and so on. Through this technique they reinforced their group feeling by establishing certain common enemies, most notable among them being Hitler, even though the records of this play are now three years old. Secrets and secret activities was another common way of keeping something going among the children that actively excluded the adults—a symbolic gesture by means of which to say, "We have a world of our own and you, dear grown-up, cannot have a place in it."

It was noted, too, that during the free art periods these children were very active and free in mutually criticizing, in both positive and negative terms, each others' work so that the situation impressed one directly with its active social interrelationships among the children. In contrast, one need only recall the nursery school child's perennial appeal not to another child but to a teacher to "Look what I made."

Another interesting trend that seems to lead in the same direction was a marked tendency on the part of these children to be violent in negative criticism of their own performances either in crayons and paints or with pencils and paper. This kind of self-negation, to those of us engaged in the study of this group, seemed to belong together with the other tendency mentioned above—a consolidation of group feeling among the children. By negating and rejecting oneself as an individual, one is helped to enlarge the feeling of belonging to a whole group of children so much stronger, so much more powerful than one's own small self. Thus we see in this period of transition that the child's growing impulse to become independent of adults goes hand in hand with a developing dependence upon belonging to the child group. His happiness or his security at this stage of development involves the need for real acceptance by the children, for genuine identification with children as a group, for freedom to repudiate much of the adult's code with respect to behavior.

In order to supply the child with the kind of psychological support which he needs, it is necessary that adults take his drive for independence for what it is really—the first steps in the difficult job of constructing one's own individual personality. The child still needs, together with his freedom to grow away from grown-ups, the confidence that they will stand by.

*The Changing Relation to the
World of Objective Reality*

It is this question of the course by which the child gradually attains his adequacy in relation to the real world that we turn to now as one of special interest in connection with the years of transition that follow upon early childhood. In his earliest years, the child's reality is primarily one of deep feeling. His greatest needs, his most urgent problems are generated within the field of the family. In accepting himself as a child, as a boy or a girl, as a sister or a brother, he lives through a basic experience that normally involves him in considerable conflict and ambivalence of feeling. Yet, during these same years, there is gradually emerging a degree of understanding and control with respect to the world of things, ideas, relations, causes in which he moves. This control and understanding is not anything that we can teach him like so many nursery rhymes. It is rather something that he accomplishes by himself with ways of learning that are peculiarly his own. Given half a chance, he experiments freely with physical reality and teaches himself a long lesson about how hard one has to pull to dislodge a wagon stuck around the curb, about where one has to sit in order to make the see-saw go up and down, about how to pump oneself on a swing, about how to make a building of blocks that is both tall and steady.

As soon as words become symbolic of experience for him, he sets out on the tremendous task of threading his experience into chains of ideas. Mothers not only are mothers but have mothers, and an aunt may be the sister of one's own mother. Lamb-chops and spinach come together at lunch on a single plate but Millie, the cook, had to go to the butcher shop for one and the vegetable store for the other. When it's in the air, it's snow; on the street

it gets wet like rain; when we bring it into the house it's water; when we put it in the cube trays in the refrigerator it becomes ice and so on endlessly. Before he has outgrown the years of early childhood, even his notion of time has elaborated sufficiently so that he enjoys looking back to the distant past when he was only three. Thus, through his sensitive observation, he becomes conversant with the world of objective reality in terms not only of physical relations but of process, change and cause as well.

The free dramatic play of children during these early years serves as an extraordinarily effective mechanism by means of which they find release from emotional pressures at the same time that they clarify their understanding of their own objective experience in the world. An hour of free play by a group of five-year-olds during which a fire engine made of packing boxes, boards, ropes, buckets goes through a series of imaginary rescues, has interwoven within it the strands of projection, phantasy and analysis. The child who in the role of the fire chief insists that it is his privilege to decide who may be permitted the roles of firemen may be the child who feels overridden in his complicated home situation that includes not only a mother and father but a set of grandparents and a maiden aunt. Their play may take a pattern of dramatic rescues, a living through of imminent danger averted miraculously and thus may be a phantasied expression of the children's feelings of dangers and threats from which they too can only be saved miraculously. In the same play, they may go through a complicated dramatic business about pipes and a hydrant and a pump on the engine to send the water up that is really a way of studying out in simple terms the basic problem of fire apparatus. Thus we see that during this period the child's understanding of the real world cannot be

functionally separated from his deep and urgent feelings concerning his own intimate emotional experience.

In the years that come after the nursery years, the child elaborates his understanding of the world by continued experimentation and observation and analysis. But there is added now to this trend an especially powerful drive to master the adult's special ways of understanding the world. He is no longer satisfied with his own child-like reconstructions of reality. He prefers now to adjust and conform to the objective standards of performance implicit in the adult world. Thus it is at this period that we find a fairly universal interest in learning to read and write and figure, to acquire these basic tools by means of which adult experience is organized.

We note, too, that he enjoys his own creative work most when he can make it conform to his notion of the way things "really are". He is patronizingly amused by a Matisse picture because the cup and saucer look as though they are going to slide off the table. He becomes interested in problems of perspective and proportion. He develops an admiration for accuracy—a song sung in correct pitch, a ball pitched effectively, a well-finished boat, a successfully-rhymed poem. This general trend toward realism and objectivity shows itself in his thinking especially when we take note of his spontaneous questions and conversations. He is most interested in facts—how big is the biggest ocean liner, how is maple sugar made out of the sap of a tree, how long does it take the Clipper to cross the ocean. He has outlived the stage where a little factual information could be embroidered fantastically and satisfy him completely. On the other hand, he has not yet reached the stage of interest in attitudes or opinions. His devotion is rather to the yes-no, is-it or isn't-it aspects of experience and he continues to ask, "Is there really a

God?" no matter how many times you may have said, "Some people think there is, and some people think there isn't."

This drive toward understanding the world by the ways that adults seem to have for the job involves the child in what might be called a gradual process of de-personalization. Heretofore, he has lived predominantly in terms of his own experience—his feelings of love and hate, his encounters with physical obstacles, his ideas about things and people which he, himself, has seen or known. Now he turns from this dependence upon his own experience to vicarious experiences, to interest in places he has only heard about in long past times that even adults themselves have only "heard" about. This he does gradually during these years, in a forward-backward pattern, continuously relating the remote experience to some personal content of his own, preferably dramatic in nature, in order to lend it reality. Thus we are not surprised to observe that his ideas have a highly emotional tone and are absolutistic in structure.

His intellectual development during this period shows signs of another influence which accounts as well for the quality of intensity that surrounds his ideas. This influence comes to him by direct descent from the period of early childhood, as mentioned above, in which he managed some of his deepest feelings of resentment and conflict by projecting them onto other children, people, things, in his immediate environment. Now we find many instances of what seems to be a similar projective mechanism attaching itself to more remote personalities and phenomena. The seven-year-old group previously referred to spoke with venom and fury about Hitler with a depth of feeling that could not possibly have arisen in a clear objective understanding of the effects of German Fascism. Their hatred seemed to be in good part a projec-

tion of feelings derived from their own experience against an enemy common to the group yet remote from their own lives.

I think it is fair to say that this trend has educational significance of major importance. Children take on as their enemies those figure-heads or symbols that are also enemies to the adults whom they trust and aim to emulate. Thus, it becomes obvious at once that at the primitive stage of developing values and attitudes which these transitional years represent, the children are deeply affected by the values and attitudes, not only of their parents but of their teachers. Because so much of the ideational content of this period of development has an emotional quality derived from the child's own deep emotional experience, it may well be that this is the period when many an adult prejudice is given its deepest roots.

Outstanding Trends of the Transitional Period

In general, we can say that after a child has outgrown the period of early childhood, he usually displays in the next few years an active need to free himself from his babyish dependence upon adults, an inclination to fulfill this need by means of attaching himself with another kind of dependence to a strongly socialized child group, an active concern for becoming conversant with the world of adult reality, a tendency to accept the standards of realism and accuracy as the most important ones, an orientation toward factual information and a relative disinterest in attitudes and opinions, a great extension of his intellectual development to include vicarious experience remote in time and space, a tendency to accept vicarious experience as real in the degree to which he can keep on relating it to personal experience, a quality of fervor and almost passionate approval and disapproval in relation to ideas that

seem to spring from the continued impulse to project his feelings but now in areas that are further and further removed from the intimacies of home and companions. Beneath all these tendencies there is a fundamental drive to be able to do the things that grown-ups can do, to understand the world as they do without depending upon them. In short, to develop one's own individual adequacy in relation to as much of the world as one can envisage.

What becomes of the trends of this period depends upon the particular social circumstances of the child's environment. The group of children who were studied in detail with respect to these factors were attending a progressive school so that we must take into account that their life experience at this level was different in many fundamental ways from that of the children who meet our culture in a more unmitigated form in the public schools of a large city. Nevertheless, it was plain to see how fundamentally they, too, were affected by the basic values of our own culture.

Although they were certainly not being pressed to live up to any fixed standards of performance, their behavior showed clearly the many ways in which standards influence the basic organization of experience for every growing child in our society. No one can escape the sense in which our lives are organized around the concept not of what we can or cannot do but rather of how well or how poorly we do what we do do. Thus, within the child group itself, we could see growing up values that have to do with how well one could read, who was the best painter, who had the best ideas for the play, who was the poorest pitcher. Here, in a school atmosphere, where the adults were certainly not supporting the competitive impulses of the children, we noted innumerable ways in which prowess and mastery were fundamental needs and goals.

They reacted to unusual problem situations such as an intelligence test with an eye always as to whether it was hard or easy. Some of their self-criticism, some of their inclination to alibi for their own performances were further signs that they were substituting high standards of their own for the arbitrary standards which they might have been compelled to meet in another school. They are clearly aware of the value which our society sets upon precocity. The Sevens envy the Eights' abilities on the one hand and look patronizing upon the Sixes' infantilism. This cannot be without its effect upon individual personalities who develop their security around feelings that at Seven they are at least as good as some Eights if not better than others. Thus already at this period of development, our children are becoming part of the fundamental fabric of the world in which they live. The social importance of competitiveness, individual prowess, status by means of achievement affects them in ways that not even a conscious school philosophy can undo.

There are other social influences at least as important, such as the cleavage between the boy and girl groups that are not so pertinent to the two questions which we have set ourselves for discussion. We should note here again, however, that in addition to being affected at this period by the psychological foundations of our society they are also deeply affected by the attitudes and viewpoints of the adults who act almost as the agents for the vicarious experience of the child. His impulse to project his own hostile feelings further and further away from himself can be channelled into becoming a hatred of Jews as indeed it has in many countries and, I dare say, in many communities in our own country. In other social settings where the adults have other values and ideals, the child's hostility will attach itself in totally different directions.

These are days when we are concerned not only in the academic pursuit of how society affects children at different stages of their development but in the much more important practical question of how those of us who are influencing children's lives may hope to contribute to changing the nature of society itself. In beginning this discussion, we referred to the notion that less deeply repressed hostility in early childhood might yield us a smaller portion of aggression in adult life. Now, we are ready to suggest how our treatment of what seem to be the natural trends and impulses of the child in the transitional years between early childhood and middle childhood may affect not only the children themselves but the kind of social structure they will create in their adult years.

As the Twigs Are Bent, So Grows the Forest

It is not enough, it seems to me, to say that a democratically organized classroom will develop more democratic personalities and therefore be a real contribution to the preservation of democracy. My own feeling is that the problem deserves and needs much more detailed analysis, much clearer definition of the aspects of our democracy which we wish to see preserved and the weaknesses in democracy as we know it which need to be remedied.

By not reinforcing in our school rooms and in our relations with our children the competitive striving which we breathe in with the oxygen of our country, we are hoping to make of our children personalities less devoted and less dependent upon the ideals of rugged individualism. We try, therefore, to set up schoolroom situations which value most highly the direct gratification that a human being young or old can get from any kind of useful and creative work. Basically, thus, we are trying to develop people who can enjoy what

they can do and what they have for itself rather than for the relative status and superiority that they gain from it. We are seeking to educate a less individualized human being whose happiness and security can come more from his relations to other people and less from the advantages, intellectual or material, that he can gain over other people. When we find children coming to a stage in their development when they naturally seem to seek an identification with a social group at their own level, we do everything we can to nurture this impulse and do not allow our own adult needs to hold the reins over them to interfere with a wholesome community feeling among the children themselves.

If as teachers we can be flexible enough personalities so that we can stand occasional rejection by the children, not be overwhelmed by their criticism of us, be understanding of their needs to partly repudiate us in order to strengthen themselves, and at the same time accept our full responsibility as adults to lead and support them and control them when necessary we will have presented to them, in the living, a positive ideal for what authority can be in any life situation. Thus we try to give them experience at this level, when they are going through such deep alterations of their feelings toward us, that will make it possible to accept leadership and authority in later years without cringing before it or to be leaders or authorities without needing to be despots.

One more point remains to be made. Our democracy needs more widespread responsibility, less feeling that laws are Congressmen's business, less fatality that what does it matter what little me thinks or wants, there are much stronger forces than I am and I had better be glad for what I can get. This remoteness from the affairs of government, accompanied as it is by an excessive readiness to let government be-

come artificially representative, may be not only a product of our large and complicated country but a by-product as well of some of our educational techniques. It is in this connection that the distinct characteristics of intellectual development in the transitional years has significance.

If we capitalized the child's impulse to tie up all the first ideas that he gets vicariously with his own firmly rooted personal experience, we might make for a much greater devotion toward ideas and understanding and a much diminished feeling that all that stuff about history and geography was all right in school but has really nothing to do with me as a person. Perhaps in this connection, too, we can use as an asset the child's tendency to express his unconscious feelings in terms of his ideas, and thus allow his developing understanding to share the bedrock of his deepest feelings. It may be very important that a seven-year-old who doesn't know anything about the election campaign issues should feel free to take sides, to express himself vigorously about what side he is on and only later be expected to take an attitude of deliberation and careful judgment with respect to the intricacies of the problems.

The plea in this connection is really that we shall do for a child's intellectual development what we have begun to accept as good procedure for his emotional development—namely, to recognize that a period of fairly aggressive, freely expressed, unreasoned affect may be essential to the development of a healthy temperance later on. In other words, we are probably trying to make our children reasonable too soon, just as we once tried to make them socialized too early. The hope is that such educational experience would turn out adults with more deeply imbedded interests in social problems and with greater capacity to cherish and enjoy social gains.

The Middle Years . . .

SOME GENERALIZATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The eight-to-twelves—often called the forgotten age of childhood—find a champion in Mr. Osborne who makes certain generalizations about them and points out the significance of the middle years to teachers and parents. Mr. Osborne is chief adviser in early childhood education at Teachers College, Columbia University.

FEW THINGS are more dramatic than certain aspects of normal child development. The student who follows the growth of the human embryo is treated to a spectacle that outshines anything Hollywood can offer. The tremendous growth of the newborn from an almost completely dependent organism to a walking, talking, inquiring, demanding person in little more than a year is equally fascinating. Those years when the child is more obviously becoming an adult are similarly impressive. But the middle years, coming between the time he is no longer "little" and the beginnings of adult growth, have been called the quiescent or latent period. Indeed, they have been compared to the pupa or chrysalis stages in insect development.¹

Overmuch emphasis on the dramatic quality of human development, however, may easily lead to a faulty concept of growth processes. More careful study inevitably leads to the conclusion that growth is more definitely characterized by steady continuity than by what at first glance may seem to be a series of jumps

with intervening periods of rest. Parents and teachers of young children should be interested particularly in the development of a clearer understanding of the so-called "latent period" and especially in the way in which the relationships and attitudes developed in the earlier years are likely to affect behavior at this time.

What, then, of this period between eight and twelve years of age? Is it so essentially different? Are comparisons with insect development at all apt? How significantly do earlier relationships and behavior affect the pre-adolescent child?

At least one note of caution should be struck in considering this or any other period of growth. Pat generalizations as to what is characteristic of three-year-, five-year-, or ten-year-olds are not defensible. The factor of individual differences—physical, mental, social, and emotional—should constantly be kept in mind. Parents and teachers alike have too often been content to accept conclusions as to the nature of the interests and abilities of children of various ages, and have developed expectations and programs not at all appropriate to many of them. In any discussion of what we may expect from children at different age levels, it behooves all of us to maintain a very flexible point of view. But even though such a point of view is accepted, are there not certain generalizations that by and large can validly be held? Does not the very continuity of the growth process lead to observable changes? Obviously the answer must be an affirmative one.

¹ Malcove, Lillian, "Tangles of the Latency Period," *Child Study*, October, 1934, pp. 6-10.

*Valid Generalizations
About Middle Childhood*

Children of the eight- to twelve-year period are characteristically more concerned about the approval of their own age group than they are about that of adults. At times they seem almost to develop a kind of defensive alliance against the controls of teachers and parents. Or at best an attitude of indifference is shown. To some of us adults this reaction is particularly disturbing and hard to understand. We expect the more amenable behavior and the greater dependence on adults of the preschool period to continue, yet at the same time we are likely to expect growing independence in many areas. We believe that children should take care of themselves and their possessions, yet if they develop ways of doing so that differ from those we hold acceptable, we are likely to object. We want them to be socially adequate, but we are overly watchful of the friends they are making. It is not improbable that at least part of the cause of the pre-adolescents' attitudes toward adults grows out of adults' inconsistency and unreasonableness.

◀ If youngsters at this age level are given half a chance, they are eager to assume responsibility. They will take over the running of the household with enthusiasm if their help is really needed and they are not burdened with minute directions. Though present economic conditions have cut off much of the opportunity for earning money through such business ventures as selling papers, caring for younger children, cutting lawns, and so on, we have sufficient evidence of the high quality of initiative and reliability possible in children of school age. Unfortunately, few of the homes and almost none of the schools in which children of this age are living afford any opportunities for the develop-

ment of such characteristics. Most of us adults seem to have become blind to the importance of this kind of experience for children.

A third and striking development is the growth in breadth, depth, and variety of interests. Extensive collections of all sorts; detailed and technical knowledge of baseball, aeronautics, dress designing, or any number of other things; thorough information about the neighborhoods and communities in which they live are but a few examples of the kinds of interests one may expect. At this period, too, one is likely to find the child making comparisons between his home and those of his acquaintances. And such comparisons are not always comfortable ones for parents. Up to this time it is not uncommon for him to consider his parents all-wise and all-powerful. Now he becomes aware that other children's parents may be stronger, taller, wiser, more lenient than his own. Yet with all this, there is still great need for the security that close attachment to parents brings.

This sketchy characterization of some of the more decided changes in attitudes and relationships coming at the school age period indicates only new emphases in development. Their beginnings in early childhood are apparent to anyone who knows younger children. Even more apparent are the persisting attitudes and behavior. The child who has had difficulty in getting along with children in nursery school and kindergarten will most likely continue something of the same pattern. The boy or girl who has had no opportunity as a five-year-old to experience the satisfactions that responsibility brings is not apt suddenly to develop a taste for it. The youngster who, for one reason or another, has had few interests as a younger child will scarcely develop deep and abiding ones overnight.

Significance of the Middle Years

At this point we may well come back to some of the questions asked earlier. Even a cursory survey of the interests, behavior, and attitudes of children in their middle years indicates that there is little to justify us in thinking of them as latent or quiescent. That such a myth has arisen may very well be due to the fact that the eight to twelves tend more largely to ignore adults than do young children or adolescents. No one who has lived intimately with the pre-adolescent in home, school or camp can be convinced that they are passing through a quiescent period.

Of what significance are the developmental aspects of these middle years to parents and teachers of young children? Our primary concern, to be sure, is to provide the kind of environment and guidance that will make possible rich, full living at the present stage of development. And yet there is something to be said for the look ahead. Only as we realize more clearly what implications present experiences may have for the future shall we be able to give the kind of guidance that helps children to live life to the full. There is no essential conflict between the two points of view.

If we realize that as the child grows older he will naturally and desirably find more of the sanctions for his behavior in his own age group, we may rightly ask what will happen to the training in obedience, regularity, and routine with which we are likely to have been much concerned. Will our efforts have been in vain? The answer doubtless lies in the methods we have used. If we have taken the easier path and attempted to develop an unquestioning compliance to routines or have been rigid in our disciplinary methods (for the good of the child, of course), we may expect one of two reactions. Some children will have been so "softened up" that they

are chained by adult controls and cannot make a normal adjustment to their own age group and its authority. Others—a tougher breed—will show a violent reaction to all authority and be unable to make the compromises with adults that are necessary even at the pre-adolescent period.

If, on the other hand, in the family and in school, opportunity for participation in deciding on schedules and routines has been afforded, commands have not been too rigid, and misdemeanors have occasionally been overlooked, the child is able to become an integral part of his age group without undue conflict with adults. Nor is he so likely to slough off earlier established habits as a protest against adult control.

Important, too, are the group experiences in early childhood. Anyone who has observed what difficulties a child whose only companions have been adults has in becoming a part of the "gang" in the middle years will have no doubt as to the value of the contribution of the play group, nursery school, and kindergarten.

Fortunate, also, is the child who has not been deprived of information and experiences which give him status in the group. How humiliating it often is for a ten- or twelve-year-old to have to confess ignorance of some the simplest facts of human reproduction! And what ingenuity and fancy prevarication the nine-year-old must employ to keep his fellows thinking that he, too, goes to the movies regularly and listens to the Lone Ranger or to Dick Tracy! Parents and teachers, in their mistaken zeal to winnow out all save the best (from the adult point of view), may often contribute to the child's social inadequacy.

There has been much concern expressed of late about the irresponsibility and lack of consideration shown by the younger generation. Often it is assumed that the cause of such a change is modern education and the newer ideas of discipline. Is it

not more likely that as recent social and economic trends impinge on the child at home and at school, and as there are fewer natural opportunities and needs for children to contribute to the welfare of the home and the school in the old way, that we adults have failed to anticipate the effects of these trends and have lagged in providing new opportunities?

Surely, even in today's homes and schools, there are many ways in which boys and girls can contribute. But it is so much easier for parents or for teachers to do what needs to be done, to give directions, or to be so solicitous about health and safety that the children are deprived of experiences in taking genuine responsibility and in showing consideration. There is no question but that today's children get the same deep satisfaction from such experiences as did their fathers and mothers. Our responsibility as adults is so to organize our homes and our classrooms that the opportunities are available.

Parents and teachers of young children also play a significant though at times unrecognized part in stimulating or in stifling the natural curiosity so characteristic of normal children.

The child who is disregarded or even rebuffed when he brings a treasured possession to school learns all too well that the things in which he is interested have no place in his school life. Let a first grade child have such an experience a few times and it will be hardly probable that ever again will he expose himself to what he fears will be indifference or even censure on the part of teachers. And to those who know the consuming interest of the young child in everything around him, nothing can be more sad than to see a room in which every picture and every object is centered on reading, writing, and number skills. In those classrooms where the rich experiences of science, of human activity,

of music and rhythm, of creative crafts are screened out so that they can not distract the children from concentrating on the rudimentary skills, one can be certain that an effective job of stifling interest and intellectual curiosity is being done. If only we realized how strategically important it is for parents and teachers to provide in the early years an emotional climate conducive to the normal development of interests, home and school activities and relationships would be vastly different than they often are today.

It is in these early days, too, that children build attitudes toward adults that are not easily modifiable later. The child who finds in parent or teacher a person to whom he can talk freely not only about things which interest him but also about things which disturb him, who finds a wise companion rather than a dictating director, is the child who in the middle years and in adolescence will look for rather than flaunt counsel from adults. Again, then, we are forced to recognize how strategic are the experiences of the first few years in keeping open or in clogging the lines of communication between children and adults.

One abiding conviction emerges from all of this—if we are to assure to children the best growing conditions, we must close certain gaps between them and us. Too frequently, teachers of young children and teachers to whom these children go later feel that they have nothing in common and show little interest in one another's work. Too wide, too, is the distance between teachers and parents. Antagonism, suspicion or at best, indifference, have characterized the relationships between home and school. Nothing would be more likely to revolutionize educational practice than genuine efforts on the part of all of us to explore the ways in which mutual understanding can better be developed and some of the present gaps closed.

Adolescence . . .

ITS STIMULATIONS AND PATTERNS

" . . . rarely do new elements enter the behavior pattern during the time of adolescent development. Many are new in form, content, timing, or intensity; but in the perspective of the total life history, their roots can be clearly traced back to earlier years," says Mr. Blos, who is a member of the faculty of Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, New York, and a consultant at the Institute of Personality Development, Progressive Education Association, and the Child Study Association of America, New York. Mr. Blos describes some of the stimulations of adolescence which bring about changes in behavior patterns and points their implications for teachers of young children.

IN CONSIDERING adolescent individuals, one is struck by the wide difference in their problems or conflicts which vary not only in kind but in degree as well. Some adolescents meet the essential problems of this developmental phase with comparative ease; others with great difficulty. For some it constitutes the period during which they come into sharp conflict with the world around them or with the world within them. For some maturation is a welcome progress; for some a threatening experience.

In attempting to account for these differences we must look at adolescence as a phase in a continuous growth process. We can then realize that the adolescent in dealing with his immediate problems is greatly helped or hindered by the character of his early experiences. For it is implicit in

growth that each early phase of development must be fulfilled successfully if the next stage which grows out of it is to be achieved satisfactorily. This is obvious enough in the sphere of physical growth and intellectual development. It is equally true in the sphere of the emotional life.

Because of bodily changes, internal and external, pubescence confronts the child with stimulations entirely new to him, which fluctuate in their intensity. He is not at all conscious of this change, but his reactive behavior is mobilized with the chief purpose of keeping his emotional economy in balance, of countering stimulation with discharge. The sudden reappearance of emerging instinctual needs at pubescence has a profound effect on the personality and reveals itself in characteristic behavior. The child cannot return—without conflict—to forms of behavior which in his early life had proved satisfactory for finding security. The adolescent cannot return to the mother as the source of affection and physical comfort. Because of his sexual maturation, he has to develop fundamentally new relationships; he has to evolve new forms of self-realization, forms which weave him gradually into the texture of society and at the same time protect his integrity as an individual. In short, the adolescent must enter a new world, and in doing so he follows the basic theme of repeating adaptations to reality formed in early childhood.

Fundamental relationships to people, to objects, and to self must be made over in terms of new goals, and this cannot fail to

reactivate early patterns of response. It is not surprising, then, that the child's earliest relationships to his parents and to his brothers and sisters, his earliest experience of love and gratification, of discipline and denial, of controlling the body and forming attitudes toward its function and pleasures, exert a profound influence on his subsequent emotional development and are reflected in his approach to the problems of adolescence.

Progressive Stability of Behavior Patterns

In his first efforts at learning the child is helped most by the mother's secure, warm, and stable relationship to him. It is precisely this center of security which enables him, in his widening experience, to feel safe and friendly toward the world which surrounds him as well as toward the inner world of his emotions, desires, and affects. On the other hand, the relationships of the young child himself are not constant nor stable; they leap from one extreme to another, from love to aggression, from affection to violence. Finally, as he reaches an age between five and seven, his relationships undergo some form of progressive stabilization. Such stabilization is the usual outcome of the temporary or prolonged conflicts that normally take place in every child's life. The way in which such an ambivalent¹ relationship to the parent is resolved follows a highly varied pattern, influenced by the many factors which impinge on family life during the child's formative years.

Looking at many children closely and intimately, one comes to realize that there are almost as many variations on this theme as there are children. The emotional

¹ "Ambivalence denotes contradictory emotional attitudes toward the same object either arising alternately, or existing side by side without either one interfering necessarily with or inhibiting the expression of the other." William Healy, Augusta Bronner, and Anna May Bowers, *The Structure and Meaning of Psycho-analysis*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930, p. 20.

organization is laid down early, but too often this apparent stabilization of relationships and attitudes is not so much the result of a successful compromise between irreconcilable striving (to discard the mother as a source of thwarting and denial, for example, and yet to cling to her as a source of security) as it is a forced resolution, prompted by rising anxieties.

At adolescence, then, when the basic adaptations to reality have to be modified in terms of physical maturity and social pressures, the unsuccessful attempts at childhood to adjust to reality are reactivated and complicate seriously the process of growing up. The first experiences in molding relationships to people—parents and siblings—become shaken in their relative stability and, figuratively speaking, broken up into the component affects which preceded their consolidation and patterning.

The most distressing consequence of this temporary disintegration of stabilized patterns and relationships is the recurrence of their ambivalent character, of affection and aggression in augmented strength. Among the adolescent's feelings toward his parents, such components as aggression, rebellion, or resentment find a readier outlet within the family than do the affectional needs, which are nevertheless just as compelling. Love and affection must find objects, at least in part, in extra-familial relationships. The particular path that the adolescent takes in finding such new relationships, in accepting authority, in expressing affection or rebellion bears an essential similarity to earlier phases of his life.

It is indeed striking, if one explores the life histories of adolescents², how rarely do new elements enter the behavior pattern during the time of adolescent development. Many are new in form, content, timing, or intensity; but in the perspective of the total

² For detailed case studies of adolescents see Peter Blos, *The Adolescent Personality*, New York: D. Appleton Century, 1941.

life history, their roots can be clearly traced back to earlier years of life. The behavior patterns do not change so much as the level of externalization which is determined by the physical, emotional, and intellectual maturity of the individual. Thus, the child who asks at three or four, "Why don't ponies grow bigger?" will ask at fourteen or fifteen, "What is eternity?" "Where does space end?" In both cases such inquisitiveness is often the forerunner of formidable strides in intellectual and social development.

Establishing Independence

The process of leaving the family and establishing a more independent control will inevitably reflect early parent-child relationships. The difficulties encountered by the adolescent in emancipating himself from the family may be vastly increased or greatly alleviated through his childhood experiences in the family and in the nursery school. Those who have been too much protected will find the sheltering comfort of childhood unusually difficult to leave behind, while for those who have felt unloved and insecure as little children, all new experiences will be terrifying, all responsibility charged with danger. For either type, adulthood with its responsibilities is not easy to attain in smooth transition.

Children who have early in life been compelled to sustain the flow of parental affection or teacher approval by meek compliance may later avoid the slightest show of rebellion as threatening them with a loss of love. Beneath their apparent compliance, unexpressed and often unconscious resentments continue. More aggressive children sometimes adopt quite opposite tactics. If they feel unloved and unfairly treated, they respond with violent rebellion, a rebellion that brings upon itself repeated punishment, a deep-seated fear of

all authority, or a guilty sense of personal unworthiness. These early ways of responding become firmly rooted in the child's personality. They are the only patterns he knows for meeting authority, for approaching new experiences, for dealing with his own feeling toward adults. These, then, are the patterns he must follow in his adolescent struggle for independence, and they will be primary in deciding how difficult he will find it.

Heterosexual Adjustments

So, too, the adolescent approaches the task of hetero-sexual adjustment dependent on patterns of behavior he has learned in his childhood. His earliest experiences of affection; his early learning of right and wrong in respect to the body, his own and others, its functions, sensations and pleasures; his earliest feelings about men and women, as well as his observations of adult attitudes toward the body, affectional behavior, and sex appropriateness—all these factors form the groundwork on which he must build the mature love for a suitable mate and the comfortable acceptance of his own role as a man or a woman. Experiences in the family and the kind of relationship he has had to either of the parents will be of importance in determining how fully he can accept the implications of his own sex, and the privileges, limitations, and responsibilities which go with it in the particular culture in which he lives.

Children may be hampered by too much love or too little. The child who has felt unloved or unwanted will grow up needing an infantile protective sort of love relationship; so, too, will the child whose early love experience has been too intense. The boy who is loved by his mother too much or not at all will have difficulty in his adjustment to other women; similarly, the girl's relationship to her father will greatly determine her approach to other

men. The boy's acceptance of his masculine role and the girl's acceptance of her femininity will depend to a large extent upon their feelings about their parents and the sort of people the parents are. They may be influenced, too, by jealousy of brothers or sisters or by the parents' unsatisfied longing for a child of the opposite sex.

Social Adaptation

The early experiences of the child are equally important in determining the individual's ability to achieve a mature level of social identification. It is well known that identification is a vitally important process in the developing personality of the child, that his play is frequently prompted by a desire to explore one type of identification or another. This is illustrated in the doll play of girls, the fireman games of boys, the spontaneous dramatizations that nearly all children reveal.

Where stable affectionate relationships—the prerequisite for successful identification—have been missing during the all-important years of early childhood, there will frequently develop difficulties at adolescence leading to manifest delinquency or delinquent episodes. The social development at adolescence may also be influenced by jealousy and competition between brothers and sisters. Where jealousy has been extreme, the child may transfer his hostile attitude to all his playmates and be unable to find satisfaction in their companionship or to make himself acceptable to them. In the same way, his attitude toward parental authority will be carried along to influence his relationship to all subsequent authority, be it the gang leader, the teacher, the employer, the church, or the state itself.

Rebellion and submission reflect patterns laid down in early childhood. Since the child's early sense of security or lack of it greatly influences his attitude toward

all that is new and untried, his early relationship to his parents may impel him to cling to their standards, to reject them passionately, or it may enable him to modify them gradually and thoughtfully in the face of new experiences.

Only Probabilities Can Serve as Guides

What has been said above with regard to social adaptation, to establishing independence, to heterosexual adjustment is not without application for the nursery and the kindergarten teacher. The child's first organized experiences in social learning outside the family have an important contribution to make if they are visualized in the broad perspective of his emotional development. No single aspect of such early learning stands out more distinctly with regard to its influence upon subsequent development than the child's ability to handle his affective life (anger, fear, and love, for example) without being overwhelmed by anxiety. This confidence in the mastery of affects is a reflection of his secure relationship to adults. In dealing with the maladjusted adolescent boy or girl, one cannot help but speculate at times what would have happened to their lives if the significant persons—parents and teachers—had planned more understandingly and thoughtfully their approaches to their first social and emotional learnings.

The continuity of development from childhood to adolescence might suggest that a cause-and-effect formula were available, that all problems could be prevented from arising during adolescence merely by controlling each disturbing cause in early childhood. Although it is true that the roots of adolescent difficulties can usually be traced back to early childhood, it would be a fallacy to assume, conversely, that all disturbing childhood experiences

necessarily lead to adolescent difficulties. The individual's life course is not as simple as that. Many persons with an unfortunate childhood survive their adolescent period with remarkable ease, and others who enjoyed rather favorable childhood conditions are thrown into a turmoil of confusion at adolescence. The storms of this period are not the result of single causes; they arise, rather, from various pressures coinciding in time. For example, a boy of fourteen whose overdeveloped body is going through a phase of rapid growth may weather his adolescence without trouble; he is more likely to develop difficulties if, at the same time, he is experiencing the added strain of a family break-up. On the other hand, the girl whose physical devel-

opment progresses very satisfactorily and smoothly is in a favorable position to work out the relationship problems which have been with her for many years.

There are ameliorating and aggravating factors which disturb the neatness of any formula we may wish to design. In any preventative work there are no certainties; there are only probabilities which serve as valid guides. Although many ameliorating as well as aggravating factors are at work during the time intervening between early childhood and adolescence, the outcome will always be infinitely more favorable if childhood education has contributed its full share toward an emotionally healthy and satisfactory development of the child in the early years of his life.

By KATHERINE REEVES

Four Go Walking

Miss Reeves, Director of the Nursery School at Cornell University, shares a delightful observation of four children who become real in this brief description. Read the first paragraph last and guess the ages of the four from Miss Reeves' description.

THEY ARE called Primrose, Trumpet-Blossom, Jonathan, and Dick, and they took their walk today along my street. I have seen them often—so often, in fact, that I have come half to believe in the truth of the names which my fancy has bestowed upon them. Only a Jonathan, three years old, could walk with so demure and so tyrannical a stride. Only a Dicken, not yet two, could waddle so magnificently straight in white woolens which tuck treacherously under the knee. Only a Trumpet-Blossom, in a fly-away blue jacket, could skip so eagerly along a rain-wet street. Only a Primrose, nine and a half, could marshal with serenity so difficult a family out for a sunning and an airing.

Slowly along my street they promenade, a shifting pattern of color and movement and unexpected lovely antic. Trumpet-Blossom goes on her toes, bright jacket flipping in the wind, bright head thrown back against the lovely colored day, bright eyes beholding with joy the sun on water and hill. Above the sound of blowing leaves her clear voice urges the small ones on, although there is no need to hurry save her own imperious need to be where she is not.

Jonathan will not hurry. The day waits on the philosophic mood. Slow, reflective going, not arrival, is his goal. The soft crimson of his bulky greatcoat, the soft brown of his knitted cap move in rhythm to his measured step. The smell of leafy wetness is good; the plosh of his great rubbers on the sodden walk is good; the buttons which he observes down his rounded middle are good. He is superior to rush, an enemy to haste, the despair of swift Trumpet-Blossom who prods him on the back and leans down to shout in his ear, and dances impatiently away.

I am amazed at Jonathan's temerity, at his serene rejection of unwelcome intrusion. He is out to walk; he walks. Slip-slap, his rubbers

make a lovely sound. Trumpet-Blossom says craftily, "Catch me!" He is not to be diverted by craft. She holds out her arms as a haven into which he shall run. He will not be beguiled. The wind sends showers of shining drops from the branches above his head. They cascade, beautifully wet, down his placid crimson middle.

Behind him Dicken staggers. For him the simplest path is beset with snares. Gravel waits on the walk to slide under his uncertain feet. Sticks leap from nowhere to entangle his wavering legs. Cracks yawn between the paving blocks and demand supreme coordination if he is to make a balanced crossing. One foot gets unaccountably off the pavement, and he sits down severely. There is no even tempo, no steady beat in his progression; he bobs courageously along in the direction he happens to face on rising from a spill, white coat tucked under his knees, white cap with its knob of wool somewhat askew.

Primrose walks in the rear with dignity and restraint. Not for her at this moment the reck-

less grace, the dancing abandonment of her sister. Care rests on her trim brown shoulders. She is a famished person, upon whose wise administration this enterprise succeeds or fails. Crossings to make, puddles and muddy hollows to avoid, Dicken to right when he plods off at a tangent—such responsibility must be met with mature and becoming soberness. With care she takes the middle of the pavement, and folds her hands behind her back.

From my window I watch them achieve the end of the street, and turn about toward home. Each in his personal language has spoken with the winter humour. Each one has left the impress of his grace upon the day, and upon his social group of which I have been an unseen member.

At their own gate they saunter in. Trumpet-Blossom darts ahead to the open door. Dick uses hands and feet for the perilous ascent of steps. Jonathan retraces a step or two for a ceremonious manipulation of the mailbox. Patient Primrose sees them in and turns the latch. Four have been walking and are home again.

We Are Your Class . . .

From experiences varied and strange to you have we come this morning. From homes where love and beauty abound; from hovels of poverty and disease; from homes broken by divorce and crime. Some of us know life at its best. Others of us know only the life "beyond the tracks." Tune your ear to the halting speech of your twelve-year-olds. We don't speak these things loudly, but we know when you hear.

We do enjoy knowing about your grown-up world, but don't expect us to care too much. We still love to watch the birds, to play baseball, and to read the funnies. Can't we wait a little while before we solve world problems? We're not sissies, but we like to be noticed and appreciated. We like to stay around after the bell rings and tell you little things. We shall seem headstrong and smarty sometimes when you are tired; when you are concerned with "things" you forget we're still around. Don't be fooled. It's just a sham. It's our defense in an adult world where grown-ups sometimes laugh at us.

And, oh, please, won't you let us do the things we can do? We do so want to feel a sense of satisfaction. Make us feel that we are needed—can do things worthwhile. We are interested in many things; we can do many things; but we can do much more, if you will show the way. Keep alive in us the inquiring mind, the thrill of living. Help us to work together, forgetting self, if we may aid another.

We sit before you, straight and tall, in age-old classroom position. A world of opportunities awaits us both. Can you hear us across the barriers of plans and objectives? Look at us, Miss Teacher. We are your class.—*Loretta Klee*, Teacher in Parley Coburn Junior High School, Elmira, New York.

Across the Editor's Desk

About This Issue

THOSE OF YOU who have read all the articles in this issue discovered that one major theme predominates—the amazing consistency and continuity of the growth processes. Each contributor—anthropologist, pediatrician, teacher, parent educator, parent, psychologist, and psychiatrist—shows this over and over again through his generalizations about the different phases in the growth process and his analysis of the changing attitudes and relationships characteristic of each.

Margaret Mead says that as an adult the individual lives out the pattern of interrelationships given to him in his own childhood—his attitudes toward authority, his capacity for deep or easy affection, and his responsiveness or lack of responsiveness. "Adolescence is a period when old attitudes are reactivated, not new born," and she illustrates this statement with comparative descriptions of culture-nurtured attitudes of Samoan, Balinese, and American adolescents.

Dr. Montgomery and Mrs. Williams chose two important factors—usefulness and independence—and tell how they believe these factors have their foundations laid in infancy and how they can contribute to later satisfactory development. Barbara Biber describes the outstanding trends in the transitional period from five to eight and again emphasizes the point made by Miss Mead that "what becomes of these trends depends upon the particular social circumstances of the child's environment." Miss Biber's suggestions as to how "our treatment of what seem to be the natural trends and impulses of the child in the transitional years between early childhood and middle childhood may affect not only the children themselves but the kind of social structure they will create in their adult years" make challenging reading.

How the eight to twelve carry on the trends described by Miss Biber in "growth (more) characterized by steady continuity than by what at first glance may seem to be a series of jumps with intervening periods of rest" is analyzed by Ernest Osborne. He, again, emphasizes what the preceding contributors emphasized—that even though each phase of development be it infancy, early childhood, pre-adolescence, or adolescence has its changing attitudes and rela-

tionships and all of them have their beginnings in early childhood. These changing attitudes and relationships indicate only "new emphases in development"; they are not "new elements" that enter the behavior patterns at specific times. They have always been present and apparent to anyone who knows young children. True, as Peter Blos says, "Many are new in form, content, timing, or intensity (in adolescence); but in the perspective of the total life history, their roots can be clearly traced back to earlier years."

Why should this issue of CHILDHOOD EDUCATION give consideration to continuity of growth? What does such consideration contribute to the plan for this year's issues and the theme, "Working for the Common Good"?

"Understanding a child is like the mathematician's problem of infinity; one can always go farther and farther in a given direction, but one can never say that he has arrived," says Harold Anderson whose editorial names the essential element in all satisfactory continuous growth—harmonious working together—whether of the individual or society. If this issue brings you a little farther in the "given direction" of understanding children better, some contribution has been made to the common good of all of us.

English Children in America

MISS MARGARET LEECHMAN has prepared this account of English children in America for CHILDHOOD EDUCATION. Miss Leechman, one of the three adults mentioned in her account, lives with the children and their governess at Clover Croft, Warrenton, Virginia.

The children in our group had to leave their much loved home in Sussex, England, owing to threatened enemy invasion in that part. A house was taken for them in the west, but after three weeks of renewed security we were forced to take further steps for their safety and thankfully accepted hospitality from the United States.

We were exceptionally lucky to find an amazingly generous sponsor who was willing to take care of us all as a group, comprising fifteen children, varying in age from five months to twelve years, and three adults. The parents of these children are mostly in our Colonies and having

left the children in our care were anxious for them to remain with us.

It has been comparatively easy for us to adjust ourselves to our new surroundings, as we have the run of our own house and control of the children, but it has made us realize how difficult it might be both for the sponsor and individual child taken into an American home.

There is a tremendous difference between our two countries in the method of raising children. The fundamental difference is the absence of nursery life in the majority of American homes. Perhaps there are not many children under five years who have come over unaccompanied, but we have heard from several young mothers with small children that the little ones find it difficult to fit in with the adult way of living, after a quiet, simple nursery routine at home. In a number of cases the child, in all probability, would adjust himself more quickly on his own. When the mother feels strange and homesick, her feelings are bound to react on her child.

On the other hand the child is sometimes expected to adjust himself a hundred percent to his new surroundings, which is not an easy task. To give a few small examples—the food is excellent and varied over here, but quite different from that at home; the main meal comes in the middle of the day, tea at 4:30, and bed punctually at six o'clock. The difference in speech is difficult to assimilate quickly at first; we both use the same words, but quite often they have an entirely different meaning. We think our children have a longer period of childhood than the American children. Our children are more self-conscious which is a drawback to them, but with affection, understanding, and patience on the part of the sponsor all these difficulties can be overcome.

Three of our children started off to the local grade school one September morning with smiling faces but sinking hearts. They had all been to well-known girls' boarding schools in England, but they were fearful of the unknown and of being stamped as "queer"! They were met with friendliness and kindness and understanding, the work and system of teaching being entirely new to them, but in spite of a few grasshoppers popped surreptitiously down their necks by the male element in their classes, the victims, realizing that the season for these unpleasant insects would soon be at an end,

"grinned and bore it." They announced at the end of two weeks that they loved school, but missed the sports and gymnasium terribly.

Our own governess accompanied us over here. She teaches the smaller children. We have received the most wonderful help and cooperation from the highest authorities in the kindergarten world—in advice; obtaining books, materials, and ideas of methods employed in this country. We were amazed to find that really busy people could give us so much of their valuable time and thoughts for the needs of our "family." We are truly grateful to them.

We still keep the English habit of long country walks. The children love the brightly colored birds and butterflies they see. The streams or "runs" are an endless source of excitement and fun. There are animals which they have only seen in pictures before. They remark on the lack of gardens and flowers around the cottages and were quick to notice the difference in the art of making haystacks.

Our "family" has flourished exceedingly during the ten months we have been here. All the children have grown and gained in weight; their rosy cheeks glow with health and vigour, but still the favorite game is "air raids" and the boys can hardly wait to be old enough to join the R.A.F.

We realize and appreciate the fact that we have not been saved from the horrors and perils of war as individuals, but because our sponsor has a great love for England and wishes to do something for her. He does not want the children to become Americanized to the extent that they will not want to go back to their own country and families, but he wishes to return them normal in mind and body to help in the creation of a new and better world with greater understanding between our two countries, and with courage and determination to rebuild shattered beliefs and strength of will to start afresh.

At every turn we have been met with kindness and thoughtfulness. We have been made to feel welcome and at home; this separation from our beloved country and friends is hard for us all. The children should be taught to realize what an important part they play at this time and how England looks to them to uphold the Union Jack over here, and to do their "bit" towards preparing to make a sane and normal world for the future generations.

Books...

FOR TEACHERS

MENTAL HEALTH IN THE CLASSROOM.

Thirteenth Yearbook of the Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction, National Education Association, Washington, D. C. Pp. 304. \$2.00.

Of the many good books that have come out recently on mental hygiene and education, this is one of the most directly helpful. The members of the editorial committee of the Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction have carried through unusually well what they set out to do—to assist "all persons interested in improving the mental health of children" and in so doing to emphasize throughout "the sturdy growth and development of normal children."

Few if any of the current treatments of mental health take into account the various fields of study that enter into mental hygiene as carefully as this one does. A survey of mental health that begins with an analysis of children's basic needs by Lawrence K. Frank includes brief but good discussion by Paul Witty, John G. Rockwell, Dorothy Baruch, and others, of the role of feeling and emotion, of the role of intelligence, of physiological factors, of parents working with teachers and teachers with parents, of social living in school, and closes with an anthropological note on the educative process by Ruth Benedict—such a survey is likely to lead to a more thorough understanding of mental health than the usual discussions by specialists who write separate books.

First-hand descriptions of what goes on in good modern schools and what they mean for mental health are a special feature of this yearbook. "A school should be the community's arrangement of the best kind of living for children" is the way Mary Reese and Dorothy Oldendorf begin their account of the Highcrest School at Wilmette, Illinois, and their article is followed by Howard Lane's, "Atmospheres for Growth." Other articles in this section describe "living and growing in wholesome schools", as illustrated by the Willard School, Evanston,

Illinois; Dever School, Chicago, and Mack School, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Lou LaBrant and Margaret Willis write of "Some Problems of Adolescents", while Phyllis Fenner tells how "A Librarian Contributes to Mental Health." There is also a report by Frances Martin and Alice Miel on two contrasting schools—one where a typical teacher said in an aside to the visitor, "Don't tell me you can't scare it into them!", the other where the principal and teachers were "helping children to attain the emotional maturity which is the essence of mental health." A third section of the yearbook is devoted to "Mental Health and Teacher Growth", and the fourth lists books on mental hygiene for parents and teachers.

These notes on *Mental Health in the Classroom* are based not only on a reading of the book, but on use in a university class of eighty graduate students in mental hygiene this past summer. The yearbook proved especially useful to teachers and principals for the overview it provided and its practical classroom procedures. —W. Carson Ryan, University of North Carolina.

THE HOPI CHILD. By Wayne Dennis. A Publication of the University of Virginia Institute for Research in the Social Sciences. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. Pp. 204. \$2.50.

In these days when our ideas on child training seem to be undergoing a thorough overhauling, what with pediatricians advising "don't worry about spinach" and some psychiatrists even advocating spanking, a book on the life and ways of children in another culture is particularly pertinent.

For two summers Wayne Dennis and his wife and little girl lived among the Hopi Indians in Arizona in a village which is still sixty miles remote from American civilization. A "play shelter" constructed at the side of the Dennis house attracted the village children of all ages and provided a natural laboratory for observation of their play.

But *The Hopi Child* shows us a good deal more than Indian children at play. It traces for us the whole course of a child's life as he grows up into the Hopi world. Further, it presents us with a number of findings that may help us in our search for clues as to the kind of handling that will—or will not—make our own children turn out as we want them to.

We are shown a culture in which many infants are strapped to a cradleboard for the greater part of the first six months of their lives. Yet they learn to walk as early as Hopi babies who are not strapped down, and in fact develop the physical skills of sitting, reaching, creeping, etc., in the same sequence and roughly at the same rate that American infants do. Here are babies who suck their thumbs though they are given the breast whenever they want it during the first year, or often two years, of their lives. Here are children who get into fights though the grown men among them consider fighting both unmanly and dishonorable.

Other more tenuous findings presented less as conclusions than as suggestions point to avenues for further research and make the reader call out for More! More! For instance, what are the implications of the fact that these children seem to grow up with more of a sense of social security than American children have? And is it true that the desire for prestige and superiority is less strong among Hopi children than among ours?

The Hopi Child is not only a provocative study for social anthropologists and psychologists, but it is a highly interesting, challenging and readable book for all those who are trying to solve the problem: What Makes Children Like That?—*Claudia Lewis*.

TROTT. By *Andre Lichtenberger*. Translated from the French by *Blanche and Irma Weill*. New York: Island Workshop Press Co-op, Inc., 1941. Pp. 245. \$2.00.

Trott, the little boy of these sketches of family life in France back in the 90's, has impressed some reviewers as being a convincing flesh and blood child. To the mind of this reviewer, however, he has flitted rather insubstantially through the pages, with the unreality of an imaginary character—which, indeed, the author admits he is.

It is never easy to put your finger on Trott, to say, "There, that's just like a child!" or even to conjure up a clear image of him. In the first chapter he appears to be a boy of at least eight

or nine who is capable of "listening with the utmost concentration to the singing, the liturgy, and the sermon" in church, but later on the reader learns that Trott is just beginning to lose his first teeth and hence can be no more than five or six.

Occasionally a real child emerges from the pages, to be sure. One suspects it is when the author ceases calling upon his imagination or forgets to use the boy as a vehicle through which to expose the hypocrisies of the adult world, and instead digs down into his own strong, meaningful reminiscences of childhood. Trott is convincing when he is struggling with his first shattering graspings of the fact that he can grow old and die. He is convincing when he finds the solid walls of his world crashing in under the impact of a quarrel between his father and mother. Other readers might find him convincing much more often. "Could a real child think and say the things Trott does?" is a question that students of child behavior might very profitably set for themselves.

No one would doubt for a moment the reality of the baby sister, Lucette, however. The author has disclosed that this delightful young person is, in fact, his own baby. He has watched her and interpreted her not only with the eyes of an extremely astute observer, but with those of a proud and delighted parent who can laugh a little at the magnitude of his pride.

But this author-parent's claim to real distinction lies not so much in his skill in passing on to us the amusement with which he can look at himself as he hovers over such world-shaking events as the coming of the baby's first tooth, but in his feat of getting under Lucette's skin and presenting us with a valid and very intriguing baby's-eye view of the world.

In this respect, Trott is a unique book. Psychologists have given us scientific studies of babies' reactions, but has a novelist ever before chosen to look at the world through the mind and muscles of a baby in the first year of its life? The result is a good deal more than a "psychological study," though it could well serve the same purpose.

Lucette's chapters in this book are pages to turn to again and again. In them one can refresh one's understanding of the workings of human behavior and enjoy that stimulating sense of recognition: "Yes, that must be just exactly what is going on in a baby's mind!"—*Claudia Lewis*.

Books...

FOR CHILDREN

FLIP. Story and pictures by Wesley Dennis. New York: The Viking Press, 1941. Unpagged. \$1.50.

Flip is an ingratiating colt who finds life generally satisfactory until he discovers that he cannot jump a certain stream. This sadly upsets his cocky self-confidence. Nor does practice make perfect. It merely gets him all wet and humiliates him still further. Brooding over his failures, Flip dreams of wings—wings that carry him over every obstacle. Still wishfully dreaming Flip wakes up and there is the stream. Sure of his wings, he bounds over the water gloriously only to discover that the wings are gone.

This gay fable is delightfully told for children 2 to 7 and adorned with superlative drawings of the irresistible Flip.

PACO GOES TO THE FAIR. A STORY OF FAR-AWAY ECUADOR. By Richard C. Gill and Helen Hoke. Pictures by Ruth Gannett. New York: Henry Holt, 1940. Unpagged. \$2.00.

CEDAR DEER. Written and illustrated by Addison Burbank. New York: Coward-McCann, 1940. Pp. 157. \$2.00.

Teachers looking for material about South America will find these two stories colorful and exciting. It must be remembered, however, that both books describe rural, isolated Indian tribes which no more represent the modern South American way of life than stories about Pueblo and Navaho Indians represent us.

Paco Goes to the Fair is a story of the Indian's textile work, especially the dyeing and weaving of wool. The difference between the old vegetable dyes and the modern aniline dyes is brought out. The boy, Paco, wins a satisfying reward by daring to use one of the ancient dyes of his ancestors. For children 7 to 10. The illustrations in brilliant colors add greatly to the charm of the book.

The Cedar Deer is intensely exciting and deals with Mayan Indians in Guatemala today, strug-

gling to free themselves from their enslavement on the great coffee plantations. Old Mayan gods are invoked along with the saints. With his hand-carved cedar deer and the courage derived from two religious sources, young Tomas wins the ear of the new president and the promise of freedom for his people. Children 10 to 12 will find this story of dangers and difficulties a thrilling one. The description of Tomas' Flying Tree Dance had this reviewer quaking and breathless. It is a superlative feat of daring.

IN MY MOTHER'S HOUSE. By Ann Clark. Illustrated by Velino Herrera. New York: The Viking Press, 1941. Pp. 56. \$2.00.

Here is a distinguished addition to authentic Indian lore for children 7 to 12. It is written from the standpoint of the Tewa children of the Tesuque pueblo, speaking simply and beautifully of their world. The cadenced prose is matched by the rhythmic beauty of the illustrations and both are illumined by an inner light of spirit and imagination.

There is a temptation to quote from every page, but the last page gives a little summary of the content as well as a sample of the style. Here it is:

The pueblo,	
The people,	
And fire,	They make a chain,
And fields,	A strong chain,
And water,	To hold me close
And land,	To home,
And animals—	Where I live
I string them together	In my mother's house.
Like beads.	

Of books on Indians there is no end, but all too few of them represent the Indian's way of looking at the world. Second grade children are genuinely moved by this book and yet upper grade children also respect it. It reads aloud like poetry; it is a delight to look at and verse choirs are going to find it a treasure.

Among . . .

THE MAGAZINES

AS NURSERY SCHOOL CHILDREN PLAY.

By Dorothy W. Baruch. *Child Study*, Summer 1941, 18:102-104, 124.

Real social development. Several instances are given of the ways in which children have worked out emotional conflicts through play. The adults in the situation require rare insight if they are to prevent harmful frustrations or help children to cure those already acquired. Much of this play excludes other children.

LABOR, LEARNING, AND LEISURE.

By Chester L. Larkins. *Recreation*, August 1941, 35:294-296.

Adventures in wholesome group life. This report of one of the newly-established work camps for young people is exceedingly thought-provoking. Through manual labor, a study-discussion program, and evening recreation the group had valuable experience in democratic living. This group and other similar ones have done genuinely constructive work in areas surrounding their camps.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION SERVES THE EMERGING FUTURE.

By E. T. McSwain. *The National Elementary Principal*, June 1941, 20:201-207.

Plan intelligently for tomorrow. It is unsafe to wait until this war ends to begin to construct a new education. We must respect the worth and dignity of each child and help him to have a feeling of "belongingness." Education cannot give the answers for tomorrow but should enable the individual to strive for higher levels of socialization.

TEACHERS NEED GOOD MENTAL HEALTH.

By T. Ernest Newland. *Understanding the Child*, June 1941, 10:12-16.

Yes, we rationalize! In our attempts to help children to improve their mental hygiene there has been a tendency to overlook the fact that teachers, also, could profit by some of the same treatment. Dr. Newland lists several of the

underlying causes of poor mental health among teachers: Failure to anticipate pupils' line of action, lack of information regarding capacities of children, inadequate or unwise marking systems, etc. Included are some excellent suggestions for treatment.

AN APPROACH TO GEOGRAPHY.

By Bertha Delehanty. *School Life*, July 1941, 26:304.

It can be fun. Seven-year-olds make and use maps with a definite purpose. This article contains brief accounts of activities at different ages, with special attention to the use of maps.

FIGURE FUN.

By Audre Ross. *School Arts*, June 1941, 40:350.

Let's pose. Other first grade children could well profit by this experiment. Each child in turn posed in costume once a week. The other children sketched them. No teaching was done. All drawings were saved for evaluation near the close of the year.

LIFTING THE LID OF INFANTILE PARALYSIS.

By Leon Felderman. *Hygeia*, September 1941, 19:702-705.

Several ounces of prevention. Some of the early symptoms of the disease are listed. Perhaps even more valuable is the discussion of the problem of prevention. Diving and swimming encourage infection; acute colds and upset stomachs should receive prompt treatment; fruits and vegetables should be thoroughly washed; no unpasteurized milk should be drunk.

DISORDERED SPEECH AND FRUSTRATION.

By Anne H. McAllister. *The New Era in Home and School*, July-August 1941, 22:163-167.

Why does Jim stutter? Many speech disorders can be traced directly to frustration, which may arise from apparently simple causes. Several clinical examples are cited that should give warning to parents and teachers.

News...

HERE AND THERE

New A.C.E. Branches

Chicago Teachers College Association for Childhood Education, Illinois
Wichita Third Grade Teachers Association for Childhood Education, Kansas
Dearborn Association for Childhood Education, Michigan
Lubbock Rural Association for Childhood Education, Texas

In more than 450 A.C.E. Branches all over the country in-service and student teachers will gather this year to talk over their problems, exchange ideas and experiences and increase their knowledge of many things. With enthusiasm and ingenuity program chairmen go about the work of ferreting out the interests of members and planning for them professional, workshop and social gatherings. If there is no such organization serving the teachers of your community you are invited to write to A.C.E. Headquarters, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., for a Branch Manual.

The A.C.E. Fellow

Verna Chrisler, primary supervisor in the training school at Arkansas State Teachers College, Conway, has joined the A.C.E. Headquarters staff as the 1941-42 Fellow. She has for several years been president of the Arkansas Association for Childhood Education, which holds annual meetings as a section of the state education association. She has also been a moving factor in the very successful A.C.E. conference on child development held in Arkansas for the past four years.

Each year since 1939 the Executive Board of the national Association has selected as Fellow an outstanding teacher from one of the six A.C.E. convention regions. Miss Chrisler represents the Southwest section.

Willette A. Allen

Willette A. Allen died in Atlanta, Georgia, on July 26. She was a life member of the national Association for Childhood Education and of the Atlanta Kindergarten Alumnae Club,

and an honorary member of the Historical Society of Atlanta in recognition of her educational contribution to that community.

Graduated from Hailmann Kindergarten Training School at LaPorte, Indiana, Miss Allen opened a kindergarten in Atlanta in 1890 and a few years later established the Atlanta Kindergarten Normal and Elementary School. She worked tirelessly to get public school kindergartens for the children of Atlanta and when they were opened in 1923 the majority of the teachers were graduates of the normal school she had established. The school was discontinued in 1918 and a few years later its charter was taken over by Emory University. Miss Allen taught many summers at Emory and at New York University. She was equally well known in the field of religious education, having taught throughout the South for the past twenty years under the sponsorship of the Methodist Board of Christian Education.

At the age of eighty-two Willette Allen reluctantly withdrew from public service and after only a short period of physical weakness passed into the life and service beyond. Of her life and work her associates in the Atlanta Kindergarten Alumnae Club have said:

Miss Allen's lifelong quest for truth, childlike spirit, love for little children, as well as her teachings, made impress on the lives of all who came under her influence. Her students, some in faraway lands, many in Georgia and other states, became messengers of the ideals she inspired. Her multitude of friends can echo the words of Patty Smith Hill, a treasured friend, "The rare-souled Willette Allen."

Mary Dickinson

For many years before her death in Atlanta, Georgia, on July 25, Mary Dickinson served the Atlanta Tuberculosis Association as executive secretary. Formerly a kindergarten teacher and a member of the faculty of the Atlanta Kindergarten Normal School organized by Willette A. Allen, Miss Dickinson was a valued member of the Atlanta Kindergarten Alumnae Club and a long time member of the national Association for Childhood Education. She was chairman of

the memorial service when the Association held its annual meeting in Atlanta in 1939.

An editorial in the *Atlanta Journal* says of Miss Dickinson:

She went about doing good. In her passing she leaves a memorial in countless lives to which she brought hope, courage, and healing.

Nellie Matlock

Twenty-five years of service in the kindergartens of St. Louis, Missouri, ended with the death of Nellie Matlock on January 20. She was a member of the executive board of the St. Louis Grade Teachers Association and a past president of the St. Louis Association for Childhood Education. Her special interest was in natural science and she served for six years as secretary of the American Nature Study Society.

The *Webster Groves Nature Study Society Bulletin* pays tribute to Miss Matlock in these excerpts from an article by Mrs. Phil Rau:

The two aspects of her life—the able public activity and the rich personal friendship—welled from the same source, her quick and sympathetic understanding of everyone she met. She had a knack of quickly discovering and bringing into focus the finest values of personality and ability in each one, from kindergarten to old age. Because people responded to this sympathetic understanding, leadership came to her unsought.

Appreciating as we do her valued public work, even more significant is . . . the cheer, the courage, the inspiration that she planted in each one of the many, many whose lives she touched. She loved vivacity and cheer and she lived her philosophy to the end of her strength.

The St. Louis Association for Childhood Education has presented to A.C.E. Headquarters in Washington a beautiful walnut desk for use by the A.C.E. Fellow. It carries a bronze plate with the inscription: "Presented by the St. Louis Branch of the Association for Childhood Education, in memory of Nellie Matlock, 1941."

Changes

Amy Hostler from supervisor of WPA nursery schools and family life education, New York, N. Y., to dean of the Mills School, New York, N. Y.

John A. Hockett from assistant professor of education at the University of California, Berkeley, to the Department of Education, University of California, Los Angeles.

Anniversary Gift

May Murray of Chautauqua, New York, has presented to the Association for Childhood Education, in honor of its 50th Anniversary, bound volumes Nos. 8-26 of *Kindergarten Review*, 1897-1915; and Nos. 1-8 of its successor, *Kindergarten and First Grade*, 1916-23. This is a

very valuable and deeply appreciated gift for the magazines are a treasury of information on the development of early childhood education.

The magazine originated in Buffalo, New York, as *Kindergarten News*. In 1893 it was purchased by Milton Bradley Company and published under the direction of Henry Blake. In 1897 it became *Kindergarten Review* with Emilie Poulsson and her sister as editors. Miss Murray, with Mabel Osgood as her assistant, succeeded the Misses Poulsson in 1904. In 1916 the name was changed to *Kindergarten and First Grade*. In 1924 the International Kindergarten Union, which became in 1930 the Association for Childhood Education, began the publication of *CHILDHOOD EDUCATION*. Miss Murray served as editor for two years and for another two years on the editorial board.

In addition to her work on the magazine Miss Murray was for a number of years corresponding secretary and treasurer of the International Kindergarten Union, performing the functions of an executive secretary. The first A.C.E. Headquarters office was under her direction.

New Film Available

Work in the public school kindergartens of Seattle, Washington, has been recorded on 16 mm. silent film and a copy is available from A.C.E. Headquarters in Washington, on a rental basis. The 400 foot reel may be used for two weeks at a cost of \$2.00 (each additional week, \$1.00) plus transportation both ways. The film cannot be reserved for more than four weeks and it is suggested that reservations be made some time in advance of the dates needed.

1941 Yearbook

The Association for Childhood Education 1941 *Yearbook* will be mailed in October to contributing members of the national Association and to presidents, secretaries and publications representatives of A.C.E. Branches. Here is the really vital information about the organization's work in 1940-41—a message from the President, the resolutions adopted at the annual meeting, reports of Headquarters staff members and the Secretary-Treasurer, names of committee members and reports of the chairmen, the financial record, and many other things.

You are invited to take a larger part in the work of the Association by becoming a contributing member (see inside back cover).

(Continued on page 94)



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Those enrolled before October 31 of this year will receive the 1941 *Yearbook* as a part of membership service. Others may purchase from A.C.E. Headquarters, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. Price 25c.

National Citizens Committee

Lucy A. Lord, president of the New Jersey A.C.E., attended the meeting of the National Citizens Committee of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, held at Atlantic City in June, as the representative of the national Association for Childhood Education. Some of her comments are:

As a listener I was made aware of the scope—of the potentialities—of the work of this committee. Change in the state of New York alone show the result of united thinking and of the follow-up programs instituted by individual members. Previously in New York there were 43,000 children in institutions, and only 1,672 children in homes. Now over half are cared for in homes under normal family living conditions. Significant of social change and progress is the fact that on the site of one of these institutions there now is a large modern housing unit.

A plea was made that members of the conference consider themselves enlisted for the duration of the present national emergency for stressing children's needs and for advancing a program to care for the needs. As one member reminded, "The basic essence of any defense program are the health, education and well-being of children."

The committee announces the appointment of Betty Eckhardt May as director of its activities, succeeding H. Ida Curry. On September 1 offices of the committee were moved to Room 1402, 122 East 22d Street, New York, N. Y.

For Education and Defense

In August 1940, fifty-five national organizations from every field of education, including the Association for Childhood Education, banded together to form the National Committee on Education and Defense. The purpose of the new committee, sponsored by the American Council on Education and the National Education Association, was to consolidate and develop the educational facilities already enlisted in the defense program.

The National Committee agreed that its work in so far as possible, should be carried on by the organizations of which it is composed, and defined for itself the following objectives:

Immediate and continuous representation of organized education for effective cooperation with the National Defense Council, the Federal Security Agency and other governmental divisions.

Stimulation and coordination of the efforts of education

(Continued on page 96)

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The author integrates the treatments of the origin, development, and care of the child in such a way as to provide college parents and future parents with a handbook of permanent and enduring usefulness, which will give them a modern, scientific grasp of the range and implications of parenthood and child growth.

In the revision, an effort has been made to achieve still greater integration and unification of treatment by a reorganization of subject matter, bringing together the discussions of physical and mental development and training.

Considerable recent scientific material has been added in the endeavor to build up a coherent theory of growth and development, including evolution, prenatal development, etc., consistent with the current branches of science, toward a realization that "the sciences" are becoming one science.

Material has been added covering the structure and function of the human body and the prenatal development of the child. There are new chapters on the sick child and on art and culture in the life of the child.

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News Notes

(Continued from page 94)

cational organizations and institutions in projects related to national defense.

Dissemination of information regarding defense developments to educational organizations and institutions.

Maintenance and improvement of educational opportunities essential in a long-range national program.

Much of the work has been carried on by series of active subcommittees.

One conclusion which was clear at the time of the creation of the National Committee has assumed added importance with the passing of time. That is the constant need for emphasis on the obligation of every social institution, including the school, to continue to do its regular job, and if possible to do it better. This is not necessarily a spectacular assignment but it is basic to national defense broadly conceived. The National Committee on Education and Defense will continue to assist in the constructive development of the defense program and at the same time will strive for the continued growth and improvement of education.